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ABSTRACT

The 3 research topics examined in this report are identified as crucially important by the 1970 Man in the North Inuvik Conference. Eskimo, Indian, and Metis residents of the North comprise 2/3 of the conference participants. The first 2 reports are on applied research projects, the first dealing with some practical ways to apply the concept of community-guided education, the second with training northern native teachers. The third report is a study of southern teacher preparation for professional teaching in the North. Three conclusions appear most significant for the present stage of northern education: (1) while official directives concerning northern education seem to be promising, very often they lack comprehension from the administrators, the teaching staffs, and concerned populations; (2) local committees must have well-defined responsibilities in the selection, hiring, transfer, and dismissal of teachers; and (3) efforts to post native teachers to the elementary grades should not exclude new and imaginative formulas that depart from the sempiternal tendency to accommodate northern elementary teacher training to the already existing standards and procedures of the South. (HBC)

Man in the North Technical Paper

Education in the Canadian North
Three Reports: 1971-1972

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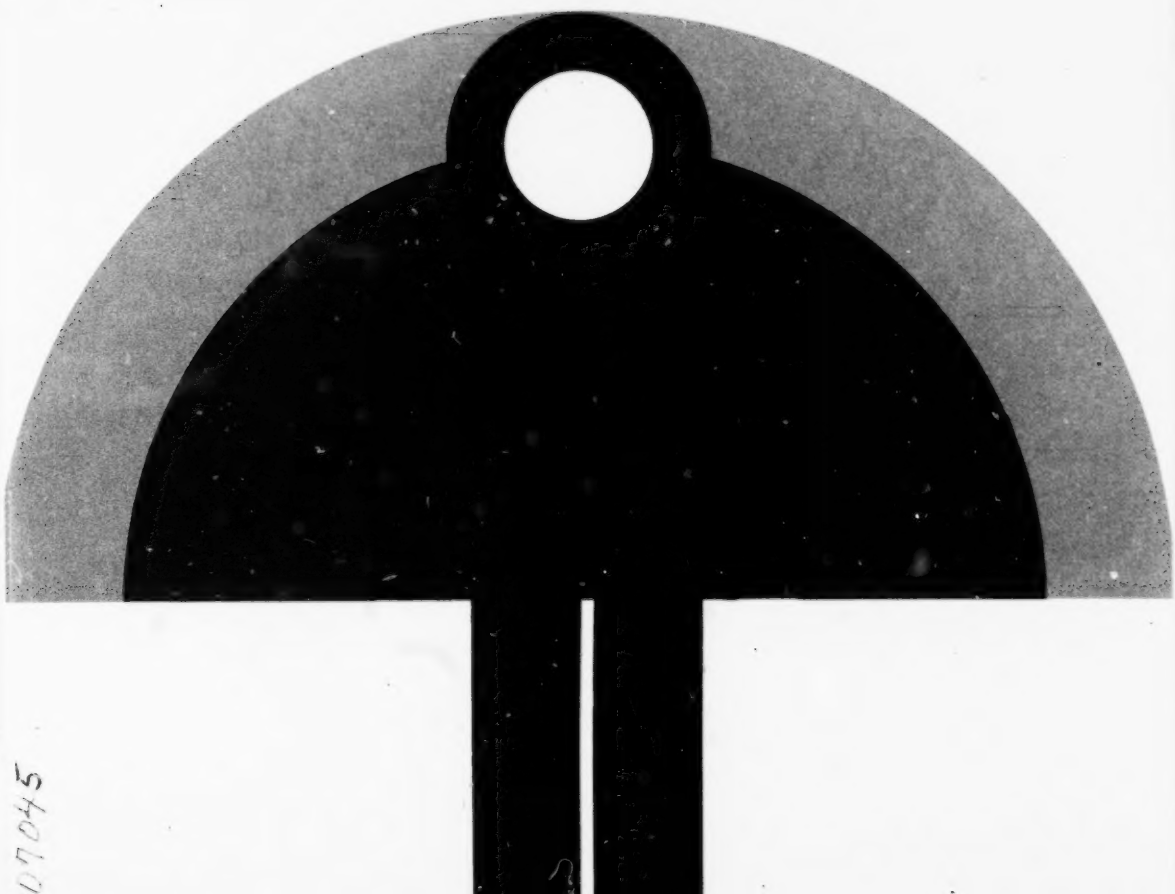

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TECHNICAL REPORTS

EDUCATION IN THE CANADIAN NORTH

Three Reports 1971-72

Community-Guided Education

Native Apprentice Teachers

Training Southern Teachers for the North

by the

Man in the North Project

a three-year research project of

The Arctic Institute of North America

March 1973

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TECHNICAL REPORTS: EDUCATION IN THE CANADIAN NORTH

Reports One and Two by Doug Brown, Rosalee Tizya, Eric Gourdeau

Report Three by Ghislaine Girard, Eric Gourdeau

Production and editing: H.T. Murphy

FOREWORD

Three research topics had been identified as crucially important by the Inuvik Conference of 1970. Two-thirds of the conference participants were Eskimo, Indian, and Métis residents of the North.[1] The Man in the North project undertook to examine these topics, which are reported on here. The first two reports are on projects essentially of the applied research type, the first of which deals with some practical ways to apply the concept of community-guided education (in five northern native communities), the second, with training northern native teachers (in three native northern communities). The third report is a study on the preparation of southern teachers for professional teaching in the North.

As with its other major enterprises, MIN gave the responsibility for the three studies to a Task Force made up of an equal number of native northerners and of other competent northern specialists. They had fruitful cooperation from the education authorities both in the Northwest Territories and in Quebec. Without this cooperation the work could not have been accomplished.

I want to emphasize this cooperation and thank those who assured it. In the following reports, some observations and findings might be interpreted as critical of the education authorities as such. They are not. They must be taken as a contribution to the improvement of the northern school system, within a process that is already officially encouraged by policies enunciated by the education authorities themselves. The open-mindedness shown by these authorities in cooperating morally, technically, and financially with the project is a tribute to their understanding and sincerity. And so we are confident these reports will help them, as well as the native clients of the northern school system, to make yet another step forward and in the right direction.

The members of the Task Force fully deserve thanks for the time, energy, advice, and guidelines they contributed, in spite of their already heavy load of responsibilities in their respective professional duties.

Eric Gourdeau
Director, Man in the North Project
Montreal, January 1973

1. The Man in the North Conference on Community Development, Project Report. Montreal: Arctic Institute of North America, 1971.

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GENERAL INTRODUCTION TO REPORTS ONE AND TWO

A little bit of history

The Man in the North Inuvik Conference of 1970 discussed a series of important issues in northern community development. In the field of formal school education the participants identified lack of community involvement as being a crucially important problem; in order to overcome the situation, two types of action were needed:-

- the use of senior native citizens in the school where their teaching could assure cultural continuity, thus at least partly bridging the gap that the school creates between the native child and his community
- the use of native teachers, especially in the lower grades of the school, to favor the child's development in a context permitting him to be linguistically and culturally understood.

The MIN staff decided to engage in two applied research projects which would experiment with practical formulas designed to meet these legitimate and pedagogically valid objectives. Much in-house preliminary planning followed, coupled with a series of consultations both in the South and in the North. These culminated in a meeting of Northerners and northern education specialists in Edmonton at the end of April 1971, a meeting convoked with a view to seeking advice and assuring that the two projects were not duplicating any similar enterprise in the field of northern education.

This meeting led to the setting up of a Task Force which would assume the responsibility for the projects. Its members were recruited from among the best qualified, in consultation with northern native organizations in Canada and with governments and universities in Alaska and Canada. The final selection was:-

Barquist, Rose (Washington, northern education specialist)
Brown, Doug (Montreal, Man in the North project)
Dyer, Audie (Fort Smith, Director, Northwest Territories Teacher Education Program)

Gardlund, Sarah-Ann (Aklavik, Chairman, Aklavik School Committee)
Kelley, Jonah (Frobisher Bay, CBC Northern Service; Eskimo University Group
Kerr, Moose (Ottawa, Chief, Northern Science Research Group, DIAND)
Menarik, Elijah (Montreal, Vice-President, Inuit Taparissat; CBC Northern Service)
Moss-Davies, Jeela (Frobisher Bay, CBC Northern Service, Frobisher Bay Hamlet Council)
Murphy, D.M. (Fairbanks, Director, Alaska Rural Teacher Training Corps)
Renaud, André, OMI (Saskatoon, Director, Indian and Northern Education Program, University of Saskatchewan)
Tizya, Rosalee (Inuvik)
Tobac, Addy (Fort Good Hope, University of Canada North; COPE; University of Calgary student)
Wah-shee, James (Yellowknife, President, Indian Brotherhood of the Northwest Territories).

Six of the Task Force members had been participants at the MIN Conference on Community Development at Inuvik. The six others became involved either through their role in representing the interests of native organizations or through their experience in northern education programs. Six of the twelve members were native northerners, and each of them was endowed with considerable experience and knowledge in the field of northern and cross-cultural education.

The coordinator of the Task Force was Doug Brown, and the field reporter was Rosalee Tizya.

In order to feed the Task Force with information on practical aspects for the implementation of the experiment, the coordinator held another round of consultations in September 1971 with native groups and governmental authorities in the Northwest Territories, to elicit their suggestions concerning the experimental sites to be chosen and other matters related to the projects.

The first formal meeting of the Task Force took place in Edmonton, 4-5 November 1971, where the final design of the experiments was fixed: sites of experimentation, fundamental criteria, procedures, and so on. The coordinator of the Task Force for the two experiments was left free to modify the details as the process of local consultation developed.

The local consultations were made by the coordinator and the field reporter from 6 November to 10 December at Sites I, II, and III. They consisted of a series of meetings with the local communities, and with the local and regional educational staffs.

In the two other sites local consultations took place at a later date in view of special circumstances that are explained below.

At the second meeting of the Task Force, held in Montreal at the conclusion of the MIN experiments, the members participated in an overall evaluation. (Their assessments on the subject of community-guided education and on the subject of apprentice teacher training are reported on separately at the end of Report One and Report Two respectively.)

During this second formal meeting of the Task Force, the members also discussed some implications of the experiments and they came to a series of observations and recommendations on the whole subject of cross-cultural education in the North, incorporated in the Epilogue.

At Sites I, II, and III, all three in the MacKenzie region, the MIN community-guided education[2] experiment went on parallel to the apprentice teachers experiment. At Sites IV and V, only the community-guided experiment was conducted by MIN.

In spite of the fact that there were only two formal meetings of the Task Force, the coordinator, the field reporter, and MIN were in constant contact with individual members, by phone, by exchange of correspondence, and through visits.

2. The term community-guided education refers here to initiating students to the knowledge of and skills in his natural environment, the planning and the teaching of which are assumed by the local community and the people it designates.

REPORT ONE:

COMMUNITY-GUIDED EDUCATION

RC 007 046

Report One
Community-Guided Education

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REPORT ONE:
COMMUNITY-GUIDED EDUCATION

1. GENERAL REMARKS

The specific objective

The specific objective of this applied research project was to evaluate some practical formulas developed for community-guided education at the local level in five native communities of the Canadian North.

As the General Introduction points out, the whole idea of this research was launched at the Man in the North Inuvik Conference, November 1970,[3] where the delegates, the majority of whom were native northerners, identified as a major block in the native education process the fact that the native adults, especially old people, were completely left out of school education. They expressed the firm conviction that, should the older native people be involved in the school education process, part of the gap created between generations by the school would be filled.

When the native child starts schooling at the age of six, he is in fact invited by the school system itself to reject the way of thinking, the way of behaving, and the general philosophy that his group has developed. The conflict that he has to live through within himself is a most serious one. He is asked to choose between his group and his parents' views on one hand, and on the other hand, the views and motivations of the dominant society of Canada, represented by the teacher and indeed by the whole school system. In the process the native child unavoidably loses pride in his own people and in his own identity. The repercussions are not limited to the child; the parents and the whole community are also affected.

The advantage of community-guided education is very obvious in such a situation. If young children newly introduced to the school system can see that representatives of their communities play a meaningful role within the school curriculum, they will surely feel more at ease and less disturbed. And if cultural

3. The Man in the North Conference on Community Development.

elements which refer to their own northern human and biophysical environment are recognized as an important part of their curriculum, this of course will mean to them that their national identity is something worthwhile.

Another dimension of the community-guided approach to schooling is that it permits the community as such to be interested in the learning process in which their children are invited to take part. The school concept itself is a relatively new one for native northerners and, unless they play a significant role in it, they will not provide the general and comprehensive support that is expected by the school from any community which it is interested in serving.

The local school in the North can and must adopt new approaches that will take into account the special nature of the native environment in the Canadian North and, in fact, this process has started in the Northwest Territories and in New Quebec. It is more and more widely accepted that not only must the child be permitted to express himself in his own language, but ways to ensure that he is understood by the personnel of the school (and vice versa) must be found. New curricula are being developed, especially in the Northwest Territories, to take into account the immediate environment of the native child and to base teaching on this environment.

These innovations indicate that a certain amount of progress has been made in recent years in the field of northern native education, but the practical involvement of the community at large in the school system has not yet found a systematic way to express itself, especially in the Western Arctic and in northern communities where the White population is particularly large. Some efforts have been made to ensure such an involvement, but with very little success. It is not easy to find practical ways of significantly involving the local population in the school system, in spite of the fact that northern school authorities manifest more and more clearly their desire to see it happen.

The criteria used

In order to meet the objective of testing some practical ways to involve native communities in local school education, and to evaluate the value of such practices, the Man in the North

Task Force on Education set up some precise criteria to judge the success of any formula implemented. These criteria were:-

- to give northern native children, through the school, a better knowledge of their history, of their forefathers, and of their culture
- to stimulate northern native school children's pride in what they are
- to increase the interest of the local community in the school
- to encourage the local native residents to become involved in planning, implementing, and assessing school curriculum programs
- to enhance the interest of the school staff in community-guided education.

These criteria are not new ones, neither in the Northwest Territories nor in New Quebec where they can be said to be more than implicitly contained in the official overall approach to education. It is not surprising then that the education authorities gave their support and help to the MIN community-guided education experiment and showed a real interest in its eventual results.

Places selected

One example of official interest was displayed when the five experiment sites were selected. In these places the process of setting up new structures favoring the implementation of official policies regarding local participation was less advanced than in other places in the Canadian North, and the authorities of the education system felt that the MIN experiment in these places could help.

Table 1 gives some general information on the location of each site selected and on some pertinent aspects of the situation that prevailed in each of them when the MIN experiment started.

These sites were chosen, among other reasons, because they represented a good cross-section of the northern native communities: the non-native population represents only around 5% in four of them, while Site IV, a major supply, service, and communications center, is one-third non-native. It can be seen that no matter how high the relative percentage of natives is in a community, the language of

TABLE 1
GENERAL INFORMATION ON THE EXPERIMENT SITES

Location	Site I MacKenzie Delta	Site II Lower MacKenzie near MacKenzie Delta	Site III Great Bear Lake	Site IV Baffin Island	Site V Ungava Bay area, northern Quebec
Population: total	660	800	395	2400	115
Inuit	330			1700	110
Loucheux Indians	165	640			
Slavey Indians			350		
Métis and/or non-status Indians	130	120	25		
Non-native	35	40	20	700	5
School					
Native enrollment	230	210	125	525	26 (9)*
Non-native enrollment				75	
Language of instruction	English	English	English	English	English (Esk-Fr)*
Native language classes	none	some	sporadic		none (a great deal)*
Native language classes	none	some	sporadic	some	
Languages spoken at home					
Native	Eskimo, Loucheux English	Loucheux, English	Slavey	Eskimo	Eskimo
Non-native people	English	English	English	English	English, French
Community organizations					
Settlement council	yes	yes	yes	no	no
Hamlet council	no	no	no	yes	no
Indian band council	yes	yes	yes	no	no
Eskimo council	no	no		no	no
School committee or Education Advisory Board	no	no	no	yes	yes

* The information in brackets refers to the school operated by the government of Quebec (School Board of New Quebec).

instruction at school remains the language of the dominant society of Canada. Site IV is an exception, as the Quebec school (and all the provincial schools for the Inuit of Northern Quebec since 1965) has the Eskimo language as the language of instruction at the kindergarten and Grades 1 and 2 levels.

The table also shows recent efforts in the Northwest Territories to establish classes in which vernacular languages are taught as subjects.

Another remark about Table 1 concerns the languages spoken by the native people in the experimental sites. At Sites II and III English is used quite extensively by the children and by some adults, though there are people of all ages who still understand their native tongue. In the three other sites, the native language is still the main language used by the autochthons in the community and, in some cases, the only language spoken at home.

Local organizations involved

In each of the five selected sites the MIN project interacted with three main local structures: the local administrative body, the school administrative body (principal and staff), and the school committee.

Generally there are two types of local administrative bodies in a native community. One is the band council or the Eskimo council (northern Quebec) whose members are elected by the native population; the other is the municipal structure set up by the Department of Local Government of the Northwest Territories. The latter corresponds to a municipal council in the South and its ultimate legal status is a town council; none of the five experimental sites had reached that level. Three were still at the lowest step of municipal status, settlement council; two had reached the second step, hamlet council.

The local school administrative staff is directly employed by the government of the Northwest Territories in four of the five MIN experimental sites; in Site V the government of Canada and the government of Quebec are the employers. The local population has nothing to say in the selection of these staffs, though it is the expressed intention of the various governments that eventually

school committees should be involved in the process, to a degree as yet unstated. Because of their key role in local education the principal and his staff are first-hand observers of any experiment in local education. They are the ones who can feel the immediate impact on their students and on the school atmosphere of any new initiative taken in the school.

The local school committee is a structure envisaged for each northern community, as part of the policy of both the Northwest Territories' government and the government of Quebec. Looked to as an important mechanism for the involvement of the community in the learning process, it is still in its infancy and established only in a certain number of northern communities. Its responsibilities do not yet extend to the hiring or dismissal of the teachers, the general content of the school curriculum, or financial responsibility for the school's budget.

The formation of a local school committee is normally initiated by the principal of the school who calls on the community to elect the committee members.

In two of the five sites (Sites IV and V) there already existed a school committee at the inception of the MIN experiment; in the three other sites the MIN experiment brought about the setting up of the committee.

2. DESCRIPTION OF THE EXPERIMENT

Site I

A. Preparation

Although settlement councillors, band councillors, and community association members expressed their support for the MIN field study idea, none of these groups felt ready to take direct responsibility for the project, since most of their time and energy was already committed to other established community activities. It was felt that a separate group should be established to act as a school committee. However, both the Settlement Council Chairman and the Settlement Manager did offer to make technical advice on administrative matters available to the school committee if this could be helpful.

An ad hoc school committee was then formed by a group of persons interested in the project, with the idea that this committee would act as a starter in the short run, but could and should be expanded to include any and all community persons having a special interest in education. The members of the committee included the school principal (recognized by the local residents as a source of technical advice) and four native persons (two Slavey Indians, two Eskimos), with the positions of chairman and secretary-treasurer being held by the native members. The immediate interests of the group were centered on involving local native residents in:-

- telling old stories and legends to small children
- teaching native northern handicrafts to older children, and
- choosing apprentice teachers (this decision was based on the recommendation of the chairman of the school committee) for the apprentice teacher experiment (see Report Two on apprentice teachers, below).

B. Organization

The formal school committee began with a small group of interested persons (three Indians, three Eskimos, two Whites), who decided after several public meetings to act as a steering committee in order to get the community-guided education project started.

It was agreed that other interested persons from the different local culture groups should be asked to join this first committee, and that anyone interested in it would be welcome to take part in its activities. The steering committee began by planning a few community-guided teaching activities and selecting four of its members and two other community people as community teachers for the first few weeks of the program.

After the first two weeks of community-guided teaching another public meeting was held to explain what had been done and to formally elect an executive. The meeting was attended by about thirty people, including Eskimos, Indians, and White members of the community. The acting chairman of the steering committee, an Indian, was elected chairman of the school committee, while an Eskimo was elected secretary-treasurer. Community-guided teachers explained their experience, education problems were discussed, and a request for local support of the committee was made by the chairman. Translation of the meeting into native languages was done as needed. A suggestion was made that the Settlement Council be kept fully informed of the school committee's activities, and there was some discussion of how money matters should be handled.

The school committee remained a mixed group of mostly Indians and Eskimos throughout the project, but its meetings were attended on most occasions by the Settlement Council Manager and various teachers. Open meetings of the school committee took place every two weeks, usually in the school.

Individual members of the community were encouraged to take part in school committee meetings and activities. The Settlement Council members, although too occupied with housing, public works, and other economic matters to be active in the school committee, received information of its activities through the school committee chairman who reported to Settlement Council meetings from time to time. Attendance at school committee meetings varied widely depending on how many people were available; some meetings brought only a handful of people, while others attracted up to thirty persons. Community teachers who had done teaching for the school committee usually came to its meetings to discuss their teaching activities.

The school principal was elected to the school committee, and although he was not in an executive position, he played an important part in providing technical information and fitting the community-

guided teaching activities into the school program. Teachers were not on the school committee executive and planning group, but attended meetings freely and were very vocal in presenting their ideas. The MIN apprentice teacher and cooperating teacher participated in some school committee meetings and brought samples of their class's work to show to the committee members, explaining also what was involved in team-teaching.

C. Planning

Community-guided teaching took place two or three times per week, taking half an hour for each activity depending on what age group of children was taught. Many classes in the school participated. In the first few weeks a number of problems were met with, due to lack of careful planning. Some examples are:-

- some community teachers came late for their lessons
- some community teachers could not teach when they were supposed to because of sickness or because they were out in the bush
- some community people came to teach in the school when they were not expected
- there was some confusion over which persons were supposed to teach which lessons
- some community teachers took a lot more time with their lessons than had been provided for in the school timetable.

The following guidelines were suggested by the principal. If a course is to be taught, then the education committee should ask:-

- what is to be taught?
- how long will it take?
- who will teach it?
- what children (what age level) will be taught?
- how much will the person be paid?
- where will the money come from?
- what materials are needed, how much will they cost, and who will be responsible for buying them?

D. Content

At the beginning of the MIN project, the school committee drew up the following list of the kinds of things it wanted taught by community teachers to the children:-

- tanning skins
- trapping
- skinning animals
- sewing hides
- beading
- embroidery
- making sinew
- operating skidoos and fixing them
- storytelling, Eskimo and Indian legends
- hunting
- making babiche out of hides
- native foods
- whip-braiding, whip games
- making dog harness and collars
- making snowshoes
- survival on the land.

The teaching of the community teachers did in fact include the following things:-

- storytelling to children in lower grades by older people, both Indians and Eskimos (in the native language, with English translation)
- sewing duffel linings for boots and mocassins (Grade 4 girls)
- whip-braiding (Grade 4 boys)
- a series of lessons on the muskrat and techniques for muskrat trapping, done by a student of the adult education center (also member of school committee) for older children
- a series of lessons on muskrat trapping for Grade 3, taught by a member of the school committee
- field trips into the bush for children to learn about trapping, involving various age groups.

E. Payment of community teachers, location and teaching methods

Of all the MIN study sites, it was at Site I where the question of paying community teachers was the most important problem. Within the first month of the MIN project it became clear that there would not be enough money in the school committee's budget to cover the cost of paying fees to all community teachers as required by the program. The community teachers' fees had been fixed at $5 per hour, but some community teachers had taken more time than had been planned for them, and more local people had become involved in community-guided teaching than had been expected.

Another problem concerning money was that some regular certified teachers protested strongly against paying money to community teachers, because they had been bringing local people into their classrooms on a voluntary basis and they felt that they would lose volunteers if the people got the idea that they should be paid for coming to teach in the school. Some of the local people

did feel that it was only fair that they also be paid for teaching, since the regular school teachers received good salaries for their teaching activities. Also some local people thought that receiving payment for community-guided teaching was a good way for the school committee to recognize that community-guided teaching has educational value, and that community teachers do have to give up their free time to be of service to the school and the community.

In the case of the older people, it was thought especially important that they be paid for community-guided teaching since their sources of income are very limited.

Although the principal could have obtained extra money for paying community-guided teachers from the Northwest Territories Department of Education, this was not done. After much debate over the matter, and some hard feelings, the committee decided to compromise with those regular teachers who strongly opposed the idea of community-guided teachers being paid for their services. The entire school committee budget was used to pay, at the rate of $4 per hour, all community-guided teachers who had worked in the school so far, and the committee agreed to carry on with community-guided teaching on a voluntary basis through the rest of the three-month MIN project period .

In general, community-guided teaching took place in the school, except for field trips. Some community-guided teaching was oral: storytelling, explaining, or discussion between the community teacher and the children; but most community-guided teaching was supplemented by drawing pictures, making models of scenes described by the community teacher (for example, a model of a ratting camp), demonstrating how to make something (like whip-braiding), observing something (like muskrat skinning), doing class projects (such as handicrafts, cooking), and so on.

[] By the end of the project, the school committee had made the following plan of community-guided teaching activities for the following school year, based on the way of life of the local people at different seasons of the year, with a view to sending it to the authorities for approval and funding.

TABLE 2
PROPOSED PROGRAM FOR COMMUNITY TEACHING 1972-73, SITE I

Course	Class	Length (hours)	Total teacher hours	Term (month)
Loucheux language	Gr 1 Gr 2	60	60	all year (Sept-June)
Eskimo language	Gr 1 Gr 2	60	60	all year (Sept-June)
Wild fruit studies	Gr 3 Gr 3 Gr 4	5	15	Fall (Sept)
Jiggling*	Gr 3 Gr 3	2½	5	Fall (Oct-Nov)
Beadwork	Gr 3	10	20	Winter
Square dancing	Gr 3 Gr 3	5	10	Winter
Introduction to ratting (lecture)	Gr 3 Gr 3	5	10	Spring
Making bannock	Gr 4	2½	2½	Winter
History of the settlement	Gr 3 Gr 3 Gr 4	2½	7½	Spring
Rabbit snaring	Gr 4 Gr 5 Gr 6	5	15	Fall
Preparing rat skins	Gr 4 Gr 5 Gr 6	5	15	Spring
Whip-making	Gr 4(boys)	5	5	Winter
Duffel-making (slippers)	Gr 4(girls)	5	5	Winter
Setting nets (fall fishing)	Gr 5 Gr 6	10	20	Fall
Snowshoe-making	Gr 5 Gr 6	5	10	Winter

Continued

* Fishing through the ice.

Course	Class	Length (hours)	Total teacher hours	Term (month)
Gun care, handling safety	Gr 5 Gr 6	5	10	Spring (May-June)
Making mukluks	Gr 5(girls) Gr 6(girls)	10	20	Winter
Making dog harness	Gr 5(boys) Gr 6(boys)	10	20	Winter
Drum dancing	Gr 5 Gr 6	10	20	Fall (Dec)
Small game fall hunting	Gr 6, 7 Gr 7, 8	10 10	20 20	Fall (Dec)
Herring fishing	Gr 6, 7 Gr 7, 8	5	10	Fall (Oct-Nov)
Fine fur trapping	Gr 6, 7 Gr 7, 8	5	10	Fall (Nov-Dec)
Northern games	Gr 6, 7 Gr 7, 8	5	10	Winter (Jan-Feb)
Practical preparation for hunting	Gr 6, 7 Gr 7, 8	5	10	Winter (March)
Setting and tending muskrat traps	Gr 6, 7 Gr 7, 8	10	20	Spring (April)
Water safety	Gr 6, 7 Gr 7, 8	5	10	Spring (May-June)

Site II

A. Preparation

At this site too it was felt that a special committee should be set up to deal with education since the existing citizens' organizations were already busy with particular projects in local economic development, local government, and recreation. However, in this case the co-chairman of the Settlement Council, who was also Band Chief, became chairman of the education committee. Other members of the committee included the cooperating teacher, the apprentice teacher, one of the local native teacher assistants, and a number of interested community meetings, but all agreed that the executive members of the committee should be native persons: members of the school staff could be useful primarily in providing technical help in coordinating the committee's activities. The committee's immediate interests seemed to be in the area of traditional handicrafts, cooking, and sewing.

B. Organization

After a number of public meetings at which the ideas of the MIN program were explained and discussed, a school committee was set up. The chairman and secretary-treasurer of this committee both were local Indians. The school committee chairman was also Band Chief and co-chairman of the Settlement Council. The committee met every two weeks, usually in private homes. Meetings were open to the public, but attendance varied from six or eight persons to fifteen or more, and most meetings were held in English. Special events to inform the public of the school program, such as the display of children's work, the traditional feast given to the community by the school, and so on, attracted as many as 400 community people.

The Settlement Council was kept informed of school committee activities by the school committee chairman, also co-chairman of the Settlement Council. Members of the community were encouraged to attend school committee meetings (in fact, as at other study sites, membership was open to anyone unconditionally), and special displays and social events were organized by the committee to draw the attention of the community to education. Persons who had been chosen by the school committee as community teachers sometimes attended committee meetings to discuss their teaching activities with committee members.

Although the principal was not a member of the school committee executive, he attended its meetings and played a very important role in providing technical advice, helping to set up time-tables for community-guided classes and getting necessary money and materials from the Department of Education for community-guided teaching activities. He was especially important in keeping teachers informed of the project and in ensuring the cooperation of the school staff.

One teacher, the MIN cooperating teacher, was on the original school committee group and participated in all school committee events and meetings. Several other teachers attended some meetings, and one native assistant teacher was quite active in regularly recording the response of the community to the MIN project. Most classes made some contribution to the traditional feast and display held at the end of the MIN program, which was sponsored by the school committee and organized largely by the MIN apprentice teacher.

C. Planning

Community-guided teaching took place several times a week and most classes were involved at some time during the three-month project period. Usually both boys and girls participated in the same activities. The committee began by planning for two-week periods. During the project the original budget provided by MIN was quickly used up; the committee then drew up a proposal for continued funding for community-guided teaching to cover the rest of the current school year, and the money was obtained from the Northwest Territories Department of Education. The school committee was responsible mainly for deciding what things should be taught, and for choosing community teachers. The principal located suitable classes in the school where the activities could be carried out, and took care of financing materials through the school budget.

D. Content

At the beginning of the MIN project, the school committee drew up the following list of suggestions for things to be taught by community people to the children:-

- cooking native foods (for example bannock, fish, caribou)
- sewing and beading
- old Indian people explaining how the treaty was signed and what it meant
- drum dancing
- tanning of skins
- trapping
- skinning of animals
- making snowshoes
- braiding dog whips
- how to survive in the bush
- use of tape-recorder to collect stories from older native people
- ski-doo operation and maintenance
- storytelling
- hunting
- making babiche from hides.

During the MIN project the community teachers taught the following things:-

- making snowshoes, demonstrated to groups of children, Grades 1, 2, 3
- sewing duffel slippers, fancy embroidery, Grades 5, 7, 8
- cooking, Grades 3, 4
- beading, Grades 4, 5, 6
- whip-making, Grade 4
- history of the local region, with old photographs as a teacher aid, Grade 3
- Indian drum-making, Grade 3
- field trips to learn about hunting and trapping, various grades
- Loucheux language, Grade 3
- attempts to collect legends and music on tape (failed through lack of reliable equipment)
- at the end of the MIN project a traditional feast and display of the children's work was organized by the school committee for the parents. Older boys went on a caribou hunt to get enough meat, and cooking Indian foods was done by the girls. All classes put on Indian handicraft displays. About 400 persons of all ages attended.

At the end of the project the school committee members made some suggestions of things which could be taught by community people to the children in the future:-

- tentmaking
- oldtime music and dancing
- tanning hides.

E. Payment of community teachers, location and teaching methods

When the original school committee budget had all been used up for paying community teachers (at the rate of $5 per hour), the school committee decided to obtain enough money from the Northwest Territories Department of Education to allow it to go on paying community teachers right through to the end of the school year. With the support of the school committee, the principal made a request to the regional superintendent for the necessary money, and enough money was granted to last to the end of the current school year.

[] Community-guided activities which required materials bought through the school usually took place in the school. Some activities requiring natural materials took place in the community teacher's home. Some community teachers preferred to teach in their homes because it was more convenient for them or because they felt more relaxed at home than at school. Some community-guided teaching was storytelling or discussion, some was demonstration, and much of it required that the children do or make something that had been demonstrated to them by the community teacher (for example, handicrafts). A number of field-trips were carried out in or around the settlement and one group of older boys was taken on a hunting trip to get caribou for the school community feast.

Site III

A. Preparation and organization

As in the two previous cases, there was not a previously-established local agency which could assume direct responsibility for managing the MIN education study on site, and it was therefore suggested that a special committee be set up for this. The decision about forming a school committee was made at a large public meeting and the selection of the six committee members and chairman was made by the community people present with the help and guidance of the Settlement Council chairman (also Chief of the Indian Band), and the Settlement and Band Councillors. The person chosen as school committee chairman was also Sub-Chief of the Band and had a known interest in education matters; an assistant teacher at the local adult education center was chosen as a secretary-treasurer. The other committee members chosen were older people of the community. The school principal, after first having sponsored the idea of a school committee which would include participation of teachers, later decided that members of the staff should not have any direct involvement with the school committee, and that the committee should be left completely on its own to make its plans and present its requests to the principal regarding community-guided teaching.

His idea was to ensure that the committee would depend on the ideas and work of local native residents; he did make clear however that he would cooperate with the committee providing that the committee came to him with well-planned proposals. None of the teachers participated in school committee meetings.

The secretary-treasurer was responsible for money and for getting materials required by community teachers. Meetings took place once every two weeks and were conducted entirely in the Slavey language, except for some translation when English-speaking visitors were present. All meetings took place in the home of the committee chairman and most meetings involved only up to ten or twelve persons at the most. People chosen by the school committee as community teachers usually attended meetings along with the original committee members.

B. Planning

The school committee planned for two-week periods and its immediate interests centered on native handicrafts, processing animal skins, and various practical skills and tools associated with hunting, trapping, and fishing, but the activities it chose actually took longer because of delays in getting materials and because one of the community teachers was sick for a time. Community-guided teaching took place twice a week, and was held during the last scheduled class of the day so that children could work on projects longer than the lesson time if they wished. Most classes were divided into a boys' group and a girls' group. Most of the community-guided teaching planned by the committee took place in only one class of the school and involved only the oldest children. The idea here was to give the older children a chance to learn about their traditional native skills before they went away to a hostel school. In addition, the committee paid for a community-guided teacher brought into another class by a regular teacher. This committee found the three-month project period too short for it to carry out the many projects it wanted to do, because each project was quite difficult and time-consuming.

C. Content

At the beginning of the MIN project, the school committee drew up the following list of the kinds of things it wanted taught by community people to the children:-

- skinning animals
- setting fish nets
- how to camp in the bush
- making and using snowshoes
- hunting and tracking different animals
- how to set snares
- how to make a tobbogan
- how to make a dog harness
- how to make a chisel
- how to make a drum
- activities for young children
- oldtime stories, drum dancing
- singing, hand games, oldtime games.

During the MIN project the community teachers taught the following things: -

- making snowshoes frames, Grades 7, 8 (boys)
- making babiche and weaving web for snowshoes, Grades 7, 8 (girls)
- Slave language, Grades 3, 4
- tanning caribou hides, Grades 3, 4
- Indian sewing and beading, Grades 3, 4 (girls)
- survival in the bush, Grades 3, 4 (boys).

At the end of the project the school committee members suggested the following things for future community-guided teaching:-

- making mukluks (girls)
- making toboggans (boys).

D. Payment of community teachers, location and teaching methods

Because the MIN education project started later in this community and involved fewer community teachers, the school committee's budget for paying teachers was used up more slowly than at the other study sites. One problem which did occur, however, was that sometimes a community person would be asked by a classroom teacher to teach in the school without the knowledge of the school committee, and then would be sent to the school committee for payment. This made it hard for the school committee to keep track of exactly how much it owed to local people for community-guided teaching, and how much money was left for future activities. No money was provided by the school in support of community-guided teaching and very little, if any, for materials; the school committee had little money to work with and had to plan its expenses very carefully. Community teachers were not paid by the hour, but were paid $5 per lesson no matter how long it took. Community-guided teachers' lessons were scheduled for the last hour of the afternoon so that community teachers and children could continue to work on projects on their own time if they wished.

All community-guided teaching took place in the community rather than in the school. Part of the program took place in the homes of community teachers or school committee members. Before the end of the program the school committee found a vacant house they could use for community-guided teaching. This required extra

expenditure of money to heat the house, but had the advantage of greater room for the activities and not so much worry about making a mess with the natural materials used (wood, caribou hide, water, and so on). The lessons were partly to show the students how to make things, and partly to let them practice on their own. In demonstrating making snowshoes, the community teacher was reluctant to let the boys do the difficult work for fear that the snowshoes would not turn out well. Provision was made for the boys to practice at school.

Site IV

A. Preparation and organization

This community was the only MIN education study site where there was a previously-established Education Advisory Board, as well as an informal native cultural education group, Eskimo University; the membership of these two groups included several Eskimo members of the Hamlet Council. After consultation had taken place with the Education Advisory Board and the Eskimo University group, it was decided by the local people that a special committee of native persons consisting of interested members of both groups, plus any other interested native people, would be best suited to take responsibility for the MIN education study activities. The committee thus formed included two members of the Education Advisory Board plus several other people in the Eskimo community. Rather than an executive, this MIN project committee simply had one person to act as a coordinator, take care of money matters, and report to MIN on the project's progress. Two of the members of the MIN project committee were also members of the Hamlet Council. Meetings were held every two or three weeks, usually in the coordinator's home, and were conducted in the Eskimo language only. People who had done community-guided teaching for the committee participated in its meeting whenever they had the time.

Except for MIN project committee members and the community-guided teachers they selected, there was not very much direct involvement of the community in the project. The MIN project committee can be considered in this case as a branch of the Education Advisory Committee, supported by some Hamlet Council members.

B. Planning

The MIN project committee planned its community-guided teaching activities for about a month at a time and the classes took place in the last hour of each Friday afternoon. Two community teachers were involved, and classes were divided into a boys' group and a girls' group. Children were between thirteen and sixteen years of age. Materials were supplied by the school.

C. Content

At the beginning of the MIN project, the following ideas were suggested by the school committee as things to be taught by community people to the children:-

- Eskimo syllabics: proper usage, legends
- sewing duffel socks, parkas, amoutik, mittens, seal-skin boots
- caribou skin: how to dry it, soften the skin, cut the skin, and so on
- seal skin: how to clean it, soften it, take the hair off, make ropes out of it, stretch the ropes, and so on
- hunting: could be taught by explanation or by field trips, depending on the age of the children
- how to make an igloo
- how to make various Eskimo tools.

During the MIN project the community teachers taught the following things:-

- syllabic reading and writing lessons (students age 13 to 16) using the syllabic Bible as a textbook
- sewing (girls)
- hunting (boys).

D. Payment of community teachers, location and teaching methods

Community teachers received $5 per lesson, instead of per hour. If there had been any money shortage, the principal made it quite clear that he was willing to pay for community-guided teachers out of the [] school's budget. All the community teachers preferred to hold their classes in their own homes. They divided the children into a boys' class and a girls' class. For teaching Eskimo syllabics they used the syllabic Bible as a textbook.

Site V

A. Preparation and organization

Three months before the MIN project actually got going, the settlement was visited by a MIN staff member who explained to the local people, both individually and at a public meeting, the history and aims of the MIN community-guided education project and asked them if they would be interested in carrying out the MIN experiment. Consultations also took place with the local federal and provincial teachers, as well as with the Eskimo village council to provide them with background information and to find out how the project might be organized from the point of view of local administration.

The idea of the MIN project was well received by all concerned and it was decided to carry it out at this settlement. However, a number of unforseen circumstances, including a long provincial teachers' strike, delayed the start of the project to the beginning of May so the project covered a period of only two months rather than three as originally planned.

Although a school committee was already in existence at the time the project took place, it cannot be claimed that it played an important part in the organization of the project. Instead the whole adult population (comprising about 35 people, all Eskimo) took part in the organization and the planning phase of the community-guided teaching project. There are two reasons for this turn of events. First, the school committee (five persons: four women, one man) had no previous experience whatsoever in handling such responsibilities, and second, the small size of the population and the great interest of the people made it possible to make decisions in a general meeting of the local people. The community was responsible for all local decisions concerning the project: organization, planning selection of teachers, subjects to be taught. Most of the meetings were conducted in Eskimo only.

The federal government school principal (and only teacher) was wholeheartedly in favor of the project and assisted the community teachers in every way possible (for example, by providing materials). The New Quebec (provincial) school-board principal was local coordinator for the project. The two other teachers (one White, one Eskimo) did not participate in the organization, although they were present at most of the meetings; they felt it was up to the community as a whole to prepare and organize the project.

B. Planning

At a meeting where all the adults were present, it was decided that

1. the courses would be given over a period of three weeks

2. the total number of hours of instruction would be the same as in the original project

3. three elected teachers (two men and a woman) would give the courses.

A few days later, the three persons chosen met with the federal and provincial teachers to discuss the project's details. It [] turned out that they had already composed a curriculum, taking into account the time of the year and the availability of materials; the only thing the schools' principals had to do was to sit back and listen. They also told the teachers that the children would be separated into four groups according to sex and age differences.

C. Content

There were two groups: the young ones, "those-who-cannot-do-without-their-mother" (from 6 to 8), and the older ones (from 9 to 13 years old).

The two men teachers worked together. They planned some activities involving both groups, and some only for the older ones. The following community-guided teaching took place for both groups: -

- orientation: close to the settlement (how to avoid circling), and long-distance (land marks, star-sighting, etc.)
- safety: spring sea-ice; shelter-making; what to do when lost
- bird-hunting: aqiggiq: nirliik; kauguq
- setting traps (for this part, four excursions of one day each were scheduled).

For older boys only, there were some further activities:-

- seal hunting: on the ice; at the floe's edge; at the breathing-hole; from the shore
- fishing under the ice (two-day excursions were scheduled for this).

Two groups for girls were also formed, but more along strength and manual dexterity lines than age only. The first group did:

- skin-scraping
- skin-cleaning
- how to cut skins to make kamiks
- skin-sewing
- making a pair of kamiks
- special waterproof sewing.

The second group made:

- duffel slippers
- duffel mitts
- duffel alirtii.

For both groups visits were made to all the houses to see how each homemaker at work solved her domestic problems in her own fashion. Two three-hour periods a week were scheduled.

The curriculum went smoothly enough, save for two "hitches": two field trips, one for younger boys and one for the older ones, had to be cancelled owing to deteriorating snow conditions, and during the third week the woman teacher had to postpone her two last teaching periods because of illness.

D. Payment of community teachers, location and teaching methods

After discussing salaries and expenses, it was decided by the three teachers that they would split the money evenly among themselves. The federal government school principal mentioned the possibility of obtaining more money from the federal government if it was needed, but the original amount seemed sufficient to the community teachers.

For boys, all teaching took place outside. For girls, about two-thirds took place in the federal school and the rest in various homes.

All sites: general comments

Materials

At each MIN study site the community-guided teachers selected by the school committee had to make up a list of materials they would need. Any materials which were bought at the store were usually

paid for by the school through the purchasing authority of the principal. At Site III there was at first some doubt on the part of the principal as to whether or not he could authorize purchase of materials for the school committee without the written permission of the regional superintendent, and filling in school purchase orders was found to involve procedural complications and much loss of time. In fact, the biggest disadvantage of having the school committee rely on the school budget for materials was that the cost of the proposed community-guided teaching projects had to be estimated in detail every few weeks, permission had to be received from the principal and the regional superintendent, and a series of forms had to be filled out and signed by the principal. The complications and delays caused by the procedures of funding on a short-term basis tended to slow down planning and organizing activities. If a comfortable budget for materials had been guaranteed at the beginning to the school committee for a three-month minimum time period, organization of community-guided teaching would have been easier.

[] The general experience of planning and budgeting for community-guided materials over short periods of time was a useful exercise for the committee members. It could have been even more rewarding if purchase control procedures had been looser, if a comfortable long-range budget for materials had been made available, and if the committee had been given more direct authority over and responsibility for purchasing materials through the Northwest Territories Department of Education, instead of having to remain dependent on the principals concerned, and on the regional superintendent's office.

[] Some delays were experienced in getting natural materials (for example, hides) due to temporary local shortages of these. In one case where hide was not available to make thong for braiding whips, rope was successfully substituted. In a permanent program of community-guided education, shortages of natural materials could be overcome by setting aside in advance whatever materials would be needed over the various seasons when the school committee is active.

Buying materials needed for the course was left to the three teachers, who shared equally among themselves the amount of money made available ($120). Furthermore, some items like gasoline, oil, and tools were put at the community teachers' disposal by the principal of the federal government school, who happened to have some latitude in his yearly budget.

Community teachers

The numbers of local people in each MIN project community who did community-guided teaching sponsored by the school committee are:-

Site 1: 8 (5 Indians, 3 Eskimos)

Site II: 8 (Indian)

Site III: 5 (Indian)

Site IV: 4 (Eskimo)

Site V: 3 (Eskimo).

Most community teachers were either mature persons (heads of families) or older persons no longer pursuing economic activities but who had many years of experience in native skills and living on the land. A few community teachers were younger native persons, but in fact most of the young people who participated in the school committee activities were much more active as organizers (of meetings and community-guided classes) and administrators (of money and paper work) than as teachers.

Some problems occurred at first in making sure that community-guided teachers were available when their classes were scheduled, but this improved with practice. There were also some delays when community-guided teachers were sick or tied down by home responsibilities. This could have been avoided if substitute community teachers had been planned for by the school committees.

One very important problem which occurred with community-guided teachers was the question of the money they received for their services. The budget provided by MIN to the school committees was calculated on the basis of $5 per lesson, two lessons per week, for the three-month period. At most MIN study sites, this was not nearly enough to cover the cost of the total number of community teachers who participated in the program.

3. EVALUATION

Techniques used

Evaluation was achieved through two techniques that complimented each other: the questionnaire and oral reporting (see the study's broad objectives in the General Introduction).

A. Questionnaires

A series of questionnaires prepared in advance were given to the evaluating agents. Each evaluating agent was invited to fill them out at fixed intervals and send them back to the coordinator of the Task Force in pre-addressed and pre-stamped envelopes.

The response varied according to individuals but generally this technique proved to be quite useful. For the three sites of the MacKenzie region (I, II, III), where the experiment was more systematically conducted, 37 questionnaires came back partially or completely filled, quite a few accompanied by more lengthy explanations on additional sheets. Total questionnaires sent were 90.

Table 3 shows the degree of response by type of respondants.

TABLE 3
RESPONSE TO QUESTIONNAIRES IN THE MACKENZIE SITES (%)

Evaluating agents	Site I	Site II	Site III
School committee		66	16
Principals	33	100	66
Community teachers	33	10	10
Resource persons	100	33	33

The table shows that, individually, the community teachers were not much attracted by the questionnaire technique. But in fact their relatively low response could be related to another factor: many of them taught on a very short-term basis, and after giving a few courses pertaining to their own skill, they were replaced by others of the same skill or of another skill. Another explanation, perhaps more plausible, is that the native teachers prefer to fill questionnaires as a team rather than as individuals. Before writing evaluation statements they would prefer to discuss and come to a consensus between themselves. This interpretation is supported by the fact that at a few sites the community teachers participated in the evaluation made by the school committee. Finally it is worth mentioning a remark made by the school principal at Site V, that there was "a certain...reluctance on the part of the native teachers to comment at length on actions done and past, especially if all went well."

Table 2 shows that the school principals and the resource people did well with the questionnaire technique. It seems to have been a good mechanism for them though the quality and the extensiveness of the responses and comments varied significantly according to individuals.

B. Oral reports

Almost everyone who responded through questionnaires also took advantage of the opportunity to meet personally with the coordinator of the Task Force, the field reporter, or another evaluating agent in order to give his own assessment of the community-guided education experiment. Also, many other local people were regularly contacted, especially by the field reporter, in order to discuss various facets of the on-going experiment. These discussions permitted difficulties to be solved as they arose, and also allowed realistic assessment of the value of the various undertakings as well as of their local significance.

The evaluation reports of the resource people also largely rested upon conversations with the experiment participants and witnesses in the places they visited. All these oral evaluations were eventually incorporated in written reports to the Task Force coordinator.

Evaluation reports

A. From the School Committees

At Site I, the committee reported a general satisfaction throughout the program. There was some difference of attitude within the committee over the question of whether or not community-guided teachers should be paid. These differences became apparent only after protests were made to the committee by some regular teachers against the practice of paying local people for community-guided teaching. Members of the committee showed quite high interest in the work of the committee and went to most meetings, besides doing some teaching themselves. Younger members of the committee were especially helpful with organizing meetings, planning, taking care of money, and keeping written records of meetings. Older members were especially good in planning and teaching lessons and in activities concerning native culture.

The response of the community in general to the project was seen as favorable, although parents did not often talk about the project in public. Some personal encouragement was given to committee members by parents, but one parent expressed concern that community-guided classes might take up time that could be used for "academic" subjects. The feeling of the school committee chairman was that the community was interested in the school committee's activities, but because it was something new local people would take time to get used to it. It was felt that community support would improve as community-guided education became better understood and community teachers gained practice.

According to the school committee, the teachers in classes where community-guided teaching took place were cooperative and seemed to enjoy the activities. Community-guided teaching was seen as a chance for local people and teachers to get to know each other through working together. But it was also mentioned that teachers too would need time to get used to the idea. The school committee found that children would soon get bored if they were asked only to observe and listen; their interest had to be maintained through personal involvement in doing things.

At Site II the school committee expressed on several occasions throughout the three-month period (both to the public at large and to the MIN project organizers) that it was pleased with the community-guided education program. The chairman and other committee members were able to observe community-guided teaching activities in the classroom and found that the children showed a great interest in learning about their own language and culture. Teachers who were asked by a school committee representative to comment on the project felt that it was worthwhile both as an interesting activity in itself and as a way of improving the performance of the children in academic subjects; many of the things taught by the community teachers were used by regular teachers for reading and writing lessons. Parents who were asked by the school committee representative what they thought of community-guided teaching said that they were happy with the project and would like to see an increasing use of native language and culture in the school in the future. They also said that they had noticed an increase in the interest of their children for school since the beginning of the MIN project, and that the children had developed greater interest in the native language and culture. Parents found that their children used the native language more often at home and made demands on the adults to help them improve their knowledge of it, so that some parents began actively teaching the native language to their children at home.

At Site III the community teachers found that their teaching was quite successful and they felt they were supported by the school staff and the community. The main problem they met was in finding the right time for teaching. Community-guided teaching was thought to be useful for the native children.

At Site IV the school committee members were pleased with the progress of their community-guided teaching, and decided to continue their activities throughout the summer. Good cooperation was received from the school, and parents thanked the community teachers for teaching the children. The school committee representative who visited the community-guided classes found that the children showed great respect for the community teachers. This was thought to be because the children were being taught in the community teachers' homes rather than in the school, and because the community teachers were older persons.

At Site V the committee did not evaluate as a separate body. Because of the locale's qualities (see above, Site V) there was a team evaluation by the schools' staffs (federal and provincial), the community teachers, and the parents. Two main ideas came out of this evaluation:-

- the universal joy and eagerness on the students's part
- parents' enthusiasm and their desire to see similar programs the following year, integrated if possible in the school curriculum.

B. From the school principals

At Site I the principal's written reports received by MIN covered only the first month of the project. In them he stated that the children responded well to community-guided teaching, generally showing interest both in the special native culture lessons and increased interest in the school. No differences were noticed in the academic performance of the children after the school committee's program began.

Although the principal did not comment in his written reports on the attitude of teachers, he did discuss this with MIN project staff. Also one of the teachers in the school wrote to the MIN field study coordinator about the teachers' position. Apparently, although the teachers agreed with the basic idea of community-guided education, they were strongly against the idea of paying local people to act as community teachers, except when their teaching activities took them away from wage employment. Teachers felt that local people should teach on a volunteer basis and consider it a free community service much the same as evening recreation activities and social events. Some teachers felt that local people who had previously volunteered to teach native culture would be "spoiled" if money was available for this and would in future only do such activities if they could get paid for them. It is obvious from the emotional overtones in this situation that the money question was taken quite seriously by the teachers.

At Site II the principal's reports to MIN came regularly and were written in great detail. Over the first month and a half he found that the response of the children to community teachers was unanimously enthusiastic: all children seemed to enjoy

native language and culture. Around the middle of the three-month project period, however, he noticed that although the native children continued to be generally very happy with community-guided activities, two White children expressed the idea that these activities were worthless, unpleasant, and that they were not interested in them and did not learn anything from them. The parents of these children had criticized community-guided teaching, claiming it had no academic value: one of these White children stated frankly, "my mother says that all this stuff is garbage and I don't like it either." The principal concluded that the two children had adopted the negative attitudes of their parents but that the overall reaction of the native children to community-guided teaching was emphatically positive..

During the last half of the three-month period a number of things were done by the school committee and the principal to inform both the teachers and the community about community-guided education. These included public meetings, printed information bulletins, displays of the children's native handicraft work, and organizing a traditional Indian feast by the school for the parents, with the help of some native community persons.

During the last month of the project the principal noticed that the opposition and criticism of those few persons who had been against the project dropped, and the community's attitude toward the project became openly and strongly favorable. A similar situation was described regarding the teachers: at first they were divided in their feelings about community-guided teaching; some supported it, some doubted it, some were undecided. The difference of opinion came to a peak around the middle of the project period; after efforts by the school committee and supporting teachers to inform all teachers about the project were made, most teachers became quite favorable toward community-guided teaching and their classes were involved during the last part of the project in special native culture projects, field trips, and so on. The principal felt that the project had been good for the community, because

- it drew the people's attention to education and gave them some facts to discuss
- it improved the academic performance of the children
- it increased greatly the use of native language and culture in the school
- it showed what kind of problems changes in northern education bring and how these problems can be solved.

At Site III the principal judged that in the first weeks the project had been a relative failure, for three reasons:-

- the boys, though they benefited from the project, lost interest when their progress was blocked by lack of babiche
- difficulties in obtaining materials indicated a lack of interest on the part of the community
- the academic performance and attendance of the children declined, and although at first they had been interested in the project, they later lost interest.

The principal concluded that native culture skills should be taught in the home rather than at school, and that this culture knowledge should then be used in school to improve understanding of academic subjects.

Regarding the second part of the program, he found that the school committee's interest in spending its budget in such a way that local people might earn money gave the program a fresh start, and that the best progress of the girls' class was made during this period.

At Site IV the principal found that the children enjoyed the lessons of community teachers; there were no further qualifications.

At Site V the principal reported favorable reaction to the success of the experiment in spite of its short duration, and he attributed the success to the fact that the total adult population had been involved to the maximum degree both in planning the activities and in implementation of the program they built. The interest of the whole community was such that they decided to request that the experiment be transformed into a regular school activity during the following year.

C. From the community teachers

In all sites the community teachers felt that both their lessons and presence were visibly appreciated by the students. They seemed convinced that this attitude, plus private conversations some of them reported, were indicative of the general approval and satisfaction of the parents.

Most of the community teachers reported that they enjoyed what they were doing, mentioning in many cases that these courses would permit the children to learn a lot of good and useful things.

Good understanding from the regular school teachers seemed to be most important in the eyes of the community teachers. The moment they felt such support and comprehension existed they mentioned them as important factors in their success. This was particularly the case at Sites I and II where the resource people who made an overall evaluation at the conclusion of the project pointed to a situation quite different from that perceived by the community teachers (as reported below).

The main difficulties mentioned by the community teachers pertained to whether or not they could give courses on schedule; their availability was determined by alternate responsibilities at home or more lucrative job opportunities. Some also mentioned the difficulty of including the courses within the regular school timetable; it can be difficult to be forced by "the bell" to end a lesson that is proceeding well.

D. From the resource people

Three resource people were especially requested by MIN to go on-site and evaluate the results of the experiment. One of them, also involved in the Apprentice Teachers experiment (see Report Two, below) came from University of Alberta, while the two others were from the Northwest Territories Department of Education. They covered only Sites I, II, and III since MIN could not afford to defray their travelling costs to the remote Sites IV and V.

At Site I, Evaluator A noticed a great difference in attitude between local native people and regular school teachers toward the MIN program in community-guided education. Members of the school committee and community teachers "felt that they had done a good job and that they were getting the support of the school staff and the community." Local residents did not seem to know a great deal about the MIN project, but appeared to approve of it.

Teachers, although generally in favor of having native culture in the school, were very critical of the way the project was organized and carried out; some points were:-

- the school committee was not democratically set up, and did not adequately represent the Eskimo part of the community
- the native people made no contribution to deciding what activities would be taught, but waited for outsiders to tell them what to do
- the MIN project and the Northwest Territories Curriculum Guide were being "shoved down the throat of the local community"
- the Settlement Council had not yet given official support to the school committee
- most native children did not really need special lessons about bush skills, and could learn this at home
- community-guided teaching upset the school schedule because local people did not arrive when they were supposed to
- field trips were dangerous; the children might have accidents there
- native children did not need the native language because they speak English
- only the Northwest Territories Department of Education had the right to bring special projects into the school; the MIN project belonged to the Arctic Institute of North America, an outside organization using the project for its own benefit.

In spite of these criticisms he concluded, on the basis of his observations and discussions, that:-

- the MIN project had helped the school progress by bringing native culture into the school
- better understanding was needed between the school and the community
- teachers could give more active support to the project
- the MIN project helped the community to consider the place of language and culture in local education
- teachers, although in favor of native culture activities, were very worried about organizing and planning these activities.

Evaluator B's remarks concurred with those of Evaluator A concerning the school staff. Teachers felt that the project had been forced on them, that there was a lack of understanding of the project both in the school and in the community due to hasty organization, and that the school committee and the teaching staff did not understand each other and were not working closely together.

But, unlike Evaluator A, Evaluator B did not seem to have checked with the native populations, including those involved in the school committee, to get their feelings about the experiment. Whether or not he would have come to the same conclusions as Evaluator A, if he had had the reactions of the local native people, is difficult to say.

Evaluator B did not go to Site II; Evaluator A did, and he attended the traditional feast and handicrafts display put on by the school for the community. He found that the great majority of the community were in favor of community-guided teaching and the use of native language and culture in the school. He also noticed that there had been a lot of conflict in the community, and the people had asked themselves and each other questions like,

- . is native language and culture really useful to the child's education?
- . how much responsibility should the school have for teaching native language and culture, and how much of this should be done by the community, or by the parents at home?
- . are reading, writing, and arithmetic being left out because of community-guided teaching?

Some teachers strongly supported community-guided education, while a few were doubtful about it. One teacher felt the native language program was a waste of time, and that paying local people as community teachers "was bad in that it destroyed the voluntary system." A local native certified teacher (a Northwest Territories Teacher Education Program graduate) said she did not know any native people who were against the community-guided teaching program. Individual community people met by the evaluator praised the program.

The evaluator concluded that there was a need to explain the educational value of community-guided education to the public so that more people understood what it meant in terms of education.

At Site II, Evaluator B did not evaluate the community-guided education experiment. Evaluator A found that teaching the native language was very effective. He reported that the school committee enjoyed an independent position, obtaining for itself an empty house for teaching traditional handicrafts.

There seemed to be good general support from the teachers and the community for the school committee. Some members of the school staff felt the project should be directed by the Northwest Territories Department of Education Curriculum Division, while some mentioned that more teachers should be involved. Teachers felt that the children loved their native language and culture, and that even non-native children profited by learning them.

He reported that the Department of Education's position seemed one of polite cooperation, but without active support.

He attended a school committee meeting and was impressed by the earnestness, wisdom, and degree of participation of all concerned. The committee seemed to be enthusiastically in favor of continuing the program the following year.

E. From the field reporter

The field reporter was in a unique position to contribute to the on-going evaluation of the experimentation, since she regularly visited Sites I, II, and III and could talk and discuss with all the people involved. She was also the first one on the MIN Task Force to meet difficulties on-site, and the first one to witness the community teachers' success. Among her main assessments are:-

- the interest and satisfaction shown by the children were obvious everywhere and helped the community teachers to overcome gradually their initial embarrassment at being in a school-room
- the interaction between parents, children, and community teachers was the most important asset in surmounting obstacles created by little groups of protesters when they did appear
- even where the native language was no longer regularly spoken, the children exposed to it in the classroom picked it up rather easily from the community teacher and enjoyed it
- the project time was actually too short for any real evaluation of its total impact; the fact that it was conducted parallel to the Apprentice Teachers experiment in the same locality created pressures for the school committee which was involved in both experiments

- the school committee members, unfamiliar with the rules of bureaucracy, did not know exactly where they stood concerning their role and responsibility toward the school
- the appreciation that the parents had shown for the experiment clearly showed that they liked the idea of the school recognizing their cultural identity and permitting their representatives to stimulate, through their teaching, their children's pride in what they are
- the native adult people selected by their local community to teach the children generally did very well in using their acquired knowledge and expertise; they clearly showed that they have something to tell the children in the school, something worthwhile and of interest.

4. CONCLUSIONS

1. The evaluations reported above speak for themselves to those who are aware of community situations in the Canadian North. The economic and social context of northern communities is quite different from that of the South, where the population does not lack the means to interest itself actively in the school system and to make its influence felt; and where, in the absence of direct influence, the population can make itself heard through its electoral legislative representatives and various information media.

In the North, the whole population can be in a state of more or less ignorance, of non-participation, simply because of the way in which the education system is set up.

In the Epilogue below, the members of the Task Force discuss some aspects of the broad situation. At this point though, some conclusions can be drawn up from the MIN applied research. They are based on the evaluations made by each of the evaluating agents respecting the general criteria noted above.

2. In making a general evaluation of this research in community-guided education, it must be said the project's time was too short to allow a sure judgment of the validity of all procedures used. If the study period had been two months longer, the members of the MIN Task Force believe that corrective measures could have been introduced to cope with the practical difficulties unavoidable in an exercise of this kind (for example, the problem of eliciting frank and intelligent cooperation of the school's regular teaching personnel with the community teachers). On the other hand some obstacles which did not materialize might have appeared over a longer time period (for example, personal financial difficulties that community teachers could have experienced if they had regularly contributed their time to school work over a longer period).

3. Despite the time factor, the project did lead to a series of very significant conclusions. It is evident that northern native people were interested in having their children initiated through the school program to their own way of life, their own history, and their national culture. But that is not all. The native

northerners were extremely pleased that certain members of the group, without the academic preparation that the "White man's school" requires, could participate significantly in the school program. It probably is not an exageration to say, when considering the reports received from the native people, that they saw the community teachers as their representatives, vis-à-vis the children, of their cultural identity--an identity that the school, like other structures conceived without their participation, has placed in a seriously threatened position.

4. From the moment when their participation in the school program became a reality, the native community teachers' interest in it began to grow; in many cases, they were agreeably surprised and reassured by the positive reaction of the children toward their teaching as well as by the encouragement received from the parents and regular teachers. They showed a desire to repeat their personal contribution should a similar program of community-guided education be institutionalized.

5. The degree of interest shown by the regular teaching personnel of the school varied widely from one site to another. It seems that generally the project permitted a crystallization of each regular teacher's attitudes toward community-guided education, rather than a new approach to the concept. Thus those who already believed sincerely in the necessity of including the human native cultural dimensions in the school process, and who saw the real and significant participation of the native people in the school program as highly desirable, seized the occasion for fully contributing their continuous support. At the other extreme, those who did not believe that the policies of community participation are appropriate--even when they are officially endorsed by the very system in which they exercise their profession--cooperated with the project only in a strictly superficial way and tended to interpret any difficulties encountered by the MIN project as an indication that such exercises either are not practically feasible or are inappropriate.

6. This defeatist attitude, ever present and often appearing to the uninitiated observer as quite reasonable, is based sometimes on interpretations which have little foundation in reality. Teachers point to the absence of official written consent of the Settlement Council, or to the apparent apathy of part of a local population (easily exaggerated into an artificial generalization),

or to the imagined division of attitudes in the community, using the slightest indications as overwhelming arguments "against" instead of engaging in frank and positive discussions that often could easily clear up these questions.

For critics, the project probably did not last long enough to bring about a new perception of the process of community participation and of its practical value. It must be said that a number of northern teachers, immigrants from the South where they have been trained for a situation very different from that of the North and who are much preoccupied with administrative efficiency, have a tendency to equate discipline and worth. The slightest disturbance of the school schedule or of ordinary discipline and organization may appear to them as detracting from the optimum management of the school.

7. Through their local school committees and community meetings held throughout the project, the native people showed that they were interested in what went on in the school and that they could effectively contribute to the planning of the school program. The subjects chosen by them for community-guided teaching were directly based on the local natural environments of each of the sites and on the daily activities and responsibilities that community people generally assume. Whether they were based on practical methods of survival on the land, as at Site V, on the knowledge of methods for using the local animal life, as at other sites, or on the skills for producing handicraft articles of both practical and cultural value, the subjects presented to the children were directly linked to the child's acquiring a better understanding of himself and his environment, which remains one of the fundamental objectives of education.

8. The community-guided education project has certain value for giving northern native children a better knowledge of their cultural heritage and their national identity. Because the study period was so brief, the project could only introduce the children to their history and culture. But what is important here is that, according to the various evaluations received, the northern school program <u>can</u> serve this purpose; the new direction established by the MIN project has shown that the children do have real, general interest in their heritage, something which some observers still deny on the pretext that the native children are not really concerned in reviving a heritage which is in the process of dying. The interest <u>is</u> there, very often latent; the school only has to confirm its importance by making it a normal part of the education program for this interest to be expressed openly.

9. In the long run, using community teachers in the school cannot but have an important impact on the local native population in terms of their interest in the school. During the three-month period, twenty-seven community teachers were involved in classroom teaching at the five sites, and if the members of the school committees are added, more than fifty native people, selected by their community, were actively involved in the process. How many among them have gained a better understanding of the school through this exercise is not easily determined, but it can reasonably be inferred that the process has had a significant impact in that respect.

* * * * * *

Some of those who participated actively in the community-guided experiment were:-

as community teachers:

Koe	Peter
Garland	Firth
Kendi	Simon
Headpoint	Tutcho
Hvaatum	Bato
Thrasher	Baptiste
Vittrekwa	Gulley
Pascal	Kelly
Modeste	Ipeelee
Neyando	Nakee
Blake	Quaki
Stewart	Newukka
Robert	Kulula

as school committee members:

Garland	Hirst
Greenland	Smith
Kendi	Dolphus
Thrasher	Yukon
Hvaatum	Bewule
Jordan	Sewi
Thrasher	Baton
Stoneman	Baptiste
Francis	Kelly
Koe	Moss-Davis
Kay	Munich
Vittrekwa	Pudloo

* * * * * *

REPORT TWO:

APPRENTICE TEACHERS

RC007047

Report two
Apprentice teachers

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1. GENERAL REMARKS

Objective

The objective of this applied research project was to evaluate a formula by which young native people could become school teachers through in-service training coupled with academic upgrading.

From a theoretical point of view nothing prevents a native person from becoming a teacher in the Canadian North. There are two ways in which this can be done.

She or he can take a teaching diploma (B.Ed.) like anybody else in Canada, following the rules and paths prescribed in each province which, by the Canadian constitution, have overall jurisdiction in education. But in practice no more than a handful of native northerners have followed this course in spite of the fact that they always were able, and still could, do it completely free of costs.

There is another institutionalized way for a native northerner to become a teacher in the Northwest Territories. In 1969 the NWT Teacher Education Program was established at Fort Smith, within the territories, in order to facilitate access to a teacher's diploma. The candidates are accepted after they successfully graduate from Grade 12, as is the case for taking a B.Ed., but it is not required that they obtain their B.Ed. in order to graduate as teachers. At the end of a successful two-year course at Fort Smith, they receive a certificate permitting them to function as classroom teachers in the local primary schools of the NWT. Later on, if they want to qualify as full-fledged teachers, they can enter the regular teachers' training course at a university in an adjacent province to complete the requirements for the B.Ed. This method is more flexible than the regular B.Ed. course and possesses many other striking advantages, but it is still an adaptation of the teacher training system that prevails in southern Canada.

The method proposed by the MIN experiment represented a third alternative for training teachers. The justifications for the experiment were:-

1. At the 1970 Inuvik Conference, all the participants had stated that one of the most urgent needs in northern native education was for native teachers. They expressed the opinion that, everything considered, it would be preferable to have native people teaching in the first grades of the school, rather than white teachers who quite obviously have not the language nor the cultural background required to understand native children and be understood by them. They also were of the opinion that even without standard teachers' diplomas, the native teachers could perform a more valuable role, provided they mastered the required minimum amount of academic knowledge needed for the level of teaching they would undertake and the necessary pedagogical skills.

2. A realistic look at what is presently done to favor the access of the northern native peoples to teaching careers indicates that, under the best of circumstances, it will be at least fifteen years before the present crucial need for native teachers at the kindergarten, Grade 1, and Grade 2 levels could be met by the established system. In the meantime, new needs will appear for native teachers to cope with native student population increase, as well as for native teachers at other levels of school instruction and for administrative roles in education.

3. Another good and realistic reason to offer the northern native teacher candidate a new, non-conformist way of becoming a teacher is that in the immediate and short-term future many native candidates will not be available because of the special geographic characteristics of the immense Canadian North, and because native people assume at an early age important responsibilities in their family and community. Both these factors will prevent interested candidates from leaving their areas to take regular teacher training courses, either at Fort Smith or at southern universities.

Design of the experiment

Confronted with the objective stated above, the Task Force designed the main characteristics of the experiment:-

- In each of three native communities of the MacKenzie region, a native person with some schooling who showed interest in becoming a primary school teacher would be chosen to work full-time, during a period of three months, with a certified

teacher. Thus he would get on-the-job training as a teacher, and he would gradually take over as many teaching responsibilities as possible. The degree of autonomy he developed during that period would be vital in assessing the value of the formula used for the experiment.

. Equally important in the design was the careful choice of the cooperating certified teacher who was to work along with the apprentice teacher on a day-to-day basis. Any serious lack of comprehension of the experiment and of the apprentice teacher would be quite critical and would obscure the results of the experiment.

. A third element of the design was the resource people from outside the locality who would feed the apprentice teacher with practical academic background in the course of the experiment. In fact, they were considered partly as substitutes--complementing in this regard the role of the cooperating teacher--for a series of pedagogical, psychological, and other kind of technical support that a regular teacher in training receives at university or at normal school, under regular teacher training courses.

. Finally, maybe the most important element in the design was the concept of team teaching. The cooperating teacher and the apprentice teacher were to plan lessons and evaluate lesson results together, on a daily basis, from the beginning of the program. The apprentice teacher was not merely copying the behavior of the certified teacher, but was learning certain technical skills which would help him transmit knowledge and stimulate learning within his own socio-cultural system; the cooperating teacher was not merely giving technical guidance to the apprentice teacher, but was learning with him how the skills of the teacher could be adapted to fit those communication patterns of the children which were conditioned by their experience at home and in the community.

The MIN cooperating teachers and apprentice teachers would be asked to plan and evaluate their progress as a teaching team in such a way as to permit the apprentice teacher to develop teaching skills and assume greater responsibilities as rapidly as his or her personal talents would allow. In general, the pattern suggested was for the apprentices to begin with observation and simple teaching tasks, gradually but steadily

increasing both the complexity of the teaching activities and the numbers of children taught as the apprentice gained confidence and skill.

Apprentices' planned schedule of activities

Before the experiment started, a series of goals were tentatively identified as desirable ones to be reached by the apprentice teacher. They were spelled out as specifically as possible so that the two members of the team could use a concrete model to guide their activities:-

Month 1

- observation of cooperating teacher, and of other teachers
- lesson planning, lesson evaluation with cooperating teacher on continuous daily basis
- general orientation to school
- instructing in native language
- supervision of children
- work with individual children, small groups
- regular presentation of lessons beginning by second week, minimum of one lesson per day
- record-keeping on apprentice's lessons, observations of children, observations of other teachers' lessons
- any necessary academic upgrading on the job
- discussions with local native community persons to ensure as much input as possible of native culture and native resource people in teaching activities.

Month 2

- selective observation of other teachers when necessary, according to needs of individual apprentice
- regular daily teaching, two lessons per day minimum, very extensive use of native language in teaching
- special curriculum development project(s), based on local native culture and community life, using local materials and local resource persons such as:-

    - a series of lessons about the history of the local community
    - a series of lessons about the geography of the local area

- a series of lessons about the various kinds of plants and animals in the local area, especially those that have importance in the traditional way of life
- a series of lessons about the various daily activities that occur in the community, that is, both work activities and leisure activities, both inside and outside the home
- adaptation of a southern textbook or a section thereof to fit the local setting (like substitution of illustrations, examples, explanations, and exercise activities based on local experience of children)
- a series of lessons about the various buildings, work places, and work activities which take place and different kinds of tools used
- a series of lessons based on local legends, songs, dances, art, games
- a series of comparative lessons about basic vocabulary, pronunciation, similarities and differences of expression, contrasting English with the local native language
- a series of lessons showing how arithmetic and counting are used in the daily activities of the home and the community.

- daily team-teaching activities of apprentice with cooperating teacher plus long-range planning done jointly as a teaching team
- goal for end of second month: that apprentice function as teacher on a half-day basis every day
- goal for end of second month: that cooperating teacher function as technical adviser to apprentice for teaching planned and carried out independently by the apprentice
- participation by the end of the second month in a seminar including the three teaching teams, plus some technical resource persons, for the purpose of exchanging ideas and evaluating general progress.

Month 3

- completion of curriculum development project(s)
- goal for end of third month: apprentice able to assume full responsibility for classroom teaching several days per week without constant supervision of cooperating teacher
- goal for end of third month: apprentice has begun concentrated work on academic upgrading through a correspondence course selected with the advice of the cooperating teacher

- final local evaluation report(s) on apprentice teacher program, with input from apprentice, cooperating teacher, and school committee
- final evaluation seminar for apprentice teachers and cooperating teachers.

Technical help available

A. Doug Brown and Rosalee Tizya

Regular visits to the settlements by experiment coordinator (Doug Brown, MIN) and field reporter (Rosalee Tizya) were provided for; the coordinator was to tour the study sites once per month, and the field reporter was to visit each community once every two weeks. Reference information on the project was left in each community and regular long-distance telephone contact was maintained with study personnel throughout the project period. It was also considered important to bring to the study sites as often as possible extra reference material, as well as technical resource persons, in order to give the people in the settlements access to a wide range of information and advice, from which they could draw whatever ideas seemed most useful to them.

B. The four institutions

1. The Department of Education of the Northwest Territories. The Department made a number of important contributions:-

- offering to officially recommend that the University of Alberta accord academic credit to the apprentice teachers for their work
- providing a teacher and facilities during the summer so that the apprentice teachers could take an academic upgrading course leading to a Grade 12 course credit
- giving priority to the apprentice teachers for entry into either the NWT Teacher Assistant Program or the NWT Teacher Education Program, according to their performance, interests, and abilities
- paying salaries of $300 per month to the apprentice teachers during the months of May and June 1971, so that they could continue working in the classroom with light duties while concentrating most of their time and effort on academic upgrading through correspondence courses

- providing transportation for a number of visits by technical resource persons to the study sites
- providing, from time to time, the services of a number of the Department's technical resource persons
- supporting the principle that MIN cooperating teachers receive university course credit for their contribution to the program
- contributing transportation and technical specialists to seminars held for the MIN apprentice and cooperating teachers.

2. University of Alberta. Several of the staff members took an interest in the MIN education field study. One of these, Dr. Cy Hampson, an educator specialized in zoology and natural sciences, acted as a technical resource person for the project, attending one of the seminars for the apprentice and cooperating teacher and visiting two of the MIN study sites. He provided many useful guidelines concerning curriculum development based on the local natural environment, and demonstrated the use of a series of casette tapes on northern wildlife that he had produced. These tapes were placed in the study sites after the seminar, to be used by the apprentice teachers.

3. University of Saskatchewan. Through its Center for Indian and Northern Education, the university provided a number of reference and curriculum materials, filmstrips, and so on to the cooperating and apprentice teachers, besides making university course credit available to the cooperating teachers in recognition of their work with the program.

4. Inuvik Research Laboratory. The Laboratory provided working facilities to the project including office and conference space, and audiovisual equipment.

C. The seminars

Because each MIN teaching team was physically isolated from the other two it was felt necessary to bring the three teaching teams together at certain points during the program to give them a chance to share ideas, receive any necessary special information on technical and organizational matters, and to evaluate jointly the general progress of the experimental program. This was also seen as an occasion for developing a sense of group solidarity through mutual moral support. Originally it was intended that there be at least three such seminars: a pre-project orientation meeting at the regional center (Inuvik); a mid-project briefing and progress assessment at one of

the study sites; and a final evaluation seminar to be combined with a field trip to observe another special northern education program or project (like the NWT Teacher Education Program, Fort Smith, Rae-Edzo School). Because of financial limitations it was possible to hold only two seminars, both at the regional administrative center, Inuvik.

Selection of apprentice teachers

General guidelines established for selecting the apprentice teachers were:-

- personal maturity, interest in children, desire to become a teacher
- any special skills or experience stemming from general educational and employment background
- good working knowledge of a local native language
- positive image in the eyes of the community
- reasonably stable family background, feeling of attachment to the community, local reputation for reliability in carrying out responsibilities
- flexibility in level of formal schooling was adopted, but Grade 8 or 9 level was suggested.

Regarding material incentives for the apprentice teacher, the MIN Education Task Force recommended that a gradually increasing salary scale should be used over the three-month study period, starting with $250 the first month, $300 the second month, and $350 the third month. This was an average of $300 per month, the starting salary of NWT teacher assistants.

Selection of cooperating teachers

The main qualities looked for in choosing a cooperating teacher were:-

- a willingness to let the apprentice teacher assume, where possible, a wide range of classroom responsibilities in a team-teaching situation
- a willingness to put extra time, effort, and patience into acting as a technical aid to the apprentice teacher
- an active interest in increasing native northern language and culture content in learning activities.

In choosing the cooperating teachers, the information and advice received from the school principal was very helpful, but the deciding factor was the individual's own initiative in showing interest in the project. No money incentives were offered, but an arrangement was made with the University of Saskatchewan whereby the MIN cooperating teachers could receive credit for a university course in cross-cultural education through their participation in the MIN field study. The grade level of the cooperating teacher's class was also to be considered, since the project was aiming at the primary level. In all three cases the MIN teaching team's class was at the Grade 3 or 4 level.

The seminars

Both in the design of the experiment and in its actual implementation the seminars had such importance that they deserve more elaboration here. There were two seminars during the course of the experimentation.

Seminar 1, Inuvik, 17-19 March 1972

The purpose of this seminar was to bring together the apprentice and cooperating teachers from the three communities of Site I, Site II, and Site III in the MacKenzie Delta to share ideas, problems, successes; also to bring to their attention materials and resources available to them. Other people were also brought in to explain the possibilities of future training in the Northwest Territories as well as various teaching techniques which could be used in the classroom.

The main participants in the seminar included the three cooperating teachers, the three apprentice teachers, the study coordinator, the field reporter, and two technical resource persons: A.J. Dyer, Principal, NWT Teacher Training Program, and Dr. Cy Hampson, Department of Education, University of Alberta. In addition a number of officials of the NWT Department of Education were in attendance for certain parts of the seminar, their principal role being to outline education policies in the NWT and to explain to the apprentice teachers further training opportunities available to them through NWT government programs in:-

- . the adult education program
- . the NWT teacher assistant program
- . the NWT teacher education program
- . requirements for entrance into teacher or teacher assistant training
- . criteria for hiring and transfer of native teachers, as regards their particular skills in native language and culture.

The teaching teams compared the techniques and activities they used in bringing native language culture into their classrooms. Results were compared in terms of the response of the school children and the community to cultural inclusion. Differences in cultural make-up and use of the native languages in the three communities were discussed. Other points made on cultural inclusion concerned local school committees and how they involve native people in making decisions concerning their communities, for example:-

- . there should be an education committee in each settlement to permit native people to play an active, responsible role in guiding the education of their children
- . school committees should receive a budget so that, on their own initiative, they can ensure their objectives will be reached
- . the official policy of the NWT Department of Education is to support and encourage local school committees
- . the Eastern Arctic is much ahead of the Western Arctic (except for the case of the Rae-Edzo School Board) in terms of local control over cultural inclusion programs
- . education can be seen as an important source of economic stimulation for northern communities.

While the apprentice teachers were getting some special instruction on teaching techniques and curriculum materials, the cooperating teachers had a group discussion in which they exchanged ideas on special problems of the apprentice teachers, personal adjustments required by team-teaching, teacher education strategies, project organizational matters, and the overall objectives of the program for apprentice teachers regarding teaching abilities.

After the Inuvik seminar, the three apprentice teachers visited two of the MIN study sites, where they were able to compare their respective community, school, and classroom situations, and where they discussed and compared in great detail

their experience as apprentice teachers. Some of the main points dealt with included:-

- observation of children and other teachers
- lesson planning
- classroom organization
- classroom control
- teaching techniques for various subject areas
- native language teaching and native cultural inclusion activities
- special problems (especially regarding personal adjustment to teaching, reaction of teachers, children, and parents to program, and so on)
- team teaching
- progress evaluation.

Professor Cy Hampson, who is a specialist in teaching and curriculum development in the natural sciences, made a number of important contributions to the program, such as:-

- demonstrating at the seminar various materials, teaching techniques, and the use of audio-visual methods for science teaching, with curriculum based on the northern natural environment
- demonstration teaching at two of the study sites, observed by the cooperating teachers and apprentice teachers
- evaluation of each apprentice's progress and practical suggestions for the apprentice's academic upgrading and further development of teaching skills.

One of the cooperating teachers, who specializes in the teaching of art, showed a film to the other teachers and apprentices on a special program he conducted in the use of natural materials, field excursions, outdoor art, and so on. In addition, a few short videotapes showing students in the NWT Teacher Education Program doing micro-teaching were viewed and discussed by the MIN teaching teams and by the technical resources persons present at the seminar. The cooperating teachers and apprentice teachers were then asked to assess the usefulness of the seminar, and to make any suggestions for improving the quality of future seminars.

Seminar 2, Inuvik, 14-15 June 1972

The seminar was attended by the three cooperating teachers, the three apprentice teachers, the field reporter and a native resource person currently studying social sciences at University of Calgary (Addy Tobac).

Topics of particular immediate concern to the apprentice teachers were discussed, especially concerning the follow-up activities that had been arranged for the apprentice teachers, including academic upgrading on the sites, NWT Teacher Assistant Program, and the NWT Teacher Education Program. The question of whether or not the MIN project would have a follow-up in the communities also came up. Other problems were the process of choosing an apprentice teacher; the basic program information provided to the apprentices; the question of whether or not the three-month time period was suitable. The cooperating teachers were particularly concerned about teacher certification standards and procedures implied by the MIN experiment, selection criteria for a teacher apprentice program, the process of choosing cooperating teachers for an apprentice teacher program, and the role of a cooperating teacher in training an apprentice. The two discussion animators, MIN field reporter Rosalee Tizya and Addy Tobac, examined program organization, program content, and program results.

2. SITE I*

Selecting apprentice teacher and cooperating teacher

The members of the school committee formed to act as a local planning and coordinating body for the field study were asked to locate potential candidates, and to choose from them the person most likely to perform well in teaching and to receive the support of the community. A large number of local residents, including members of the school staff, the settlement council, and the band council were contacted either individually or in groups; they were informed of the nature of the project and asked to contribute their views and suggestions. At first, several young persons having Grade 12 schooling were considered for the apprentice teacher position, but after discussions with them it was decided that they were not committed enough to the idea of training as a teacher, and that therefore the likelihood of their staying with the project for its duration was small. The person who was finally chosen as the apprentice teacher was a mature woman with a family of six children, well-known and respected for her participation in community affairs, and for her reliability in the various jobs she had held. She was at that time responsible for the local handicrafts shop and was interested in obtaining a permanent role in teaching. Her level of formal education had been restricted to Grade 6 because she had been hospitalized for a number of years, but her reading, writing, and speaking competence in English was generally good. She also had a good command of the Loucheux language and was familiar with many aspects of the Indian culture. The recommendation of the school committee group was checked with the chairman of the settlement council, the principal of the school, and other interested persons. Even though her formal academic background was recognized to be limited, all those consulted agreed that the person selected would be a good choice for the program because of her personal qualities.

The cooperating teacher, from her first contact with the apprentice teacher-training concept, showed great interest in the project. In addition, she was highly recommended by the school principal for the role of cooperating teacher. She had also had a previous experience in training student teachers, which, it was thought, could be useful to her in working with the apprentice teacher.

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* For a description of Site I, see Table 1, p.10.

Team teaching approach

The teaching team at Site I concentrated their efforts mainly on the apprentice teacher's development of skills in the field of lesson planning and basic teaching techniques. Because the apprentice teacher had a level of formal schooling limited to Grade 6, it was necessary for her to thoroughly research her lesson material before presenting it, so as to ensure that she had the best possible understanding of the concepts to be taught. The apprentice teacher and cooperating teacher had regular daily planning and evaluation sessions after school, and the apprentice followed these up by a great deal of personal study of reference material to improve her academic knowledge. The apprentice's teaching activities were regularly complemented throughout the program with observation of other teachers in the school, for the purpose of picking up or refining certain special practical skills that interested her or which she needed to improve; for example, she learned from one teacher how to develop photographic film. The same pragmatic approach was used toward academic upgrading: the apprentice followed courses in typing and basic high-school mathematics. In matters of classroom organization and group control the teacher apprentice adopted a trial-and-error method in developing her own style, receiving support from the cooperating teacher when needed. One of the most extensive contributions of the apprentice to core subject teaching was a series of lessons she did on different kinds of animals, in which she made good use of audio-visual techniques and experimented with science teaching methods that had been demonstrated by Dr. Hampson at the mid-project seminar. The general approach used by this teaching team was to carry out most class activities together, but with each of the two members alternately playing either a teacher or a teacher-aide role according to a pattern which they had worked out in advance.

Curriculum and cultural inclusion

The apprentice teacher acted as an agent for native cultural inclusion in three ways:-

- by including many Indian legends in her language arts teaching
- by setting up and teaching a project in native beadwork
- by doing some teaching of the Loucheux language.

In addition to the apprentice teacher's contribution to cultural inclusion activities, a community resource person taught a series of lessons on muskrat trapping, an activity of great economic and cultural importance to the community. This was reinforced by having the class build a model of a muskrat camp, and by taking the class on a field trip into a nearby ratting area.

Apprentice's personal adjustment

The apprentice teacher fitted easily into the staff and quickly developed friendly, open relations with other staff members. As regards the children, her manner toward them was one of warm friendliness, patience, and respect, and they reacted toward her with affection. Her participation in community affairs increased significantly after she began working as an apprentice teacher, and she received a number of encouraging comments on her work from members of the community.

Activities of apprentice teacher and progress assessment by MIN teaching team

The following pages present a condensed report of the apprentice teacher's activities on Site I, coupled with her own assessment and the assessment of the cooperating teacher:-

Month 1

a. Activities of apprentice teacher

- classroom observation (both classical and modern individualized approaches)
- help with remedial reading and art
- home economics teaching
- supervisory duties
- teaching native beadwork on regular basis
- telling Indian legends, reinforced in creative writing and arts
- teaching arithmetic.

b. Apprentice teacher's assessment

- unfamiliar with modern teaching methods
- difficulty with phonics program
- children's first reaction affectionate, special interest in beadwork and Indian legends
- staff's reaction positive (teachers offered to help)
- parents' approval and encouragement
- arithmetic difficult to teach.

c. Cooperating teacher's assessment

- very enthusiastic reaction of children toward apprentice's teaching of beadwork (they performed very well)
- children's respect and obedience for apprentice teacher
- apprentice teacher's friendly manner, clear voice, strong interest in work
- tendency to concentrate too much on the individual at the expense of the group
- apprentice teacher did much private research and study to overcome academic handicaps (difficult to assess, however, in terms of growth of academic knowledge)
- great success of apprentice teacher in two areas:-
    - telling of Indian legends, followed by creative writing and art
    - beadwork classes, in small groups
- main problems:-
    - lesson planning and following an outline
    - teaching math (lack of academic background).

Month 2

a. Activities of apprentice teacher

- use of overhead projector for telling stories and reading lessons
- individual help for math and language arts
- science lessons on animal life
- lessons to the class in math and other subject areas
- continuation of beadwork lessons
- experimentation with teaching half of the class by herself for two different subjects (math and language arts) in consecutive lessons
- first report evaluating children's progress.

b. Apprentice teacher's assessment

- sustained high interest of children in beading
- lessons lasting up to half an hour at least
- attention and help of cooperating teacher and children
- school staff's continuing eagerness to help
- members of the settlement council's and parents' personal congratulations, interest, offers to help and suggested ideas for apprentice's teaching.

c. Cooperating teacher's assessment

- good performance of apprentice with individuals and small groups
- difficulties for apprentice with:-
    - coordinating groups of ten or more
    - following lesson plans
- much better math teaching performance
- apprentice's lessons on animals well researched and planned (successful teaching)
- cooperating teacher's disappointment when she explained the MIN team teaching program to a settlement council meeting and was not asked any questions.

Month 3

a. Activities of apprentice teacher

- more lessons on animals
- much use of overhead projector, film, filmstrips, as teaching aids
- help with math program
- general supervision
- attending settlement council meeting with cooperating teacher, who explained project to councillors
- attempt to use an activity center approach to math and science lessons
- lessons in physical education
- observation of reading classes at the beginner level in order to be able to assist with remedial reading programs
- typing lessons and enrolment in a correspondence course for math upgrading.

b. Apprentice teacher's assessment

- . children's sustained interest
- . beadwork project so successful that children began another project, experimenting with new designs
- . more self-confidence with the staff
- . staff's continual eagerness to help
- . MIN teaching team's visit to settlement council: no questions asked or comments made by councillors
- . decision to become a teacher assistant, and determination to successfully complete all necessary training.

c. Cooperating teacher's assessment

- . apprentice's frequent use of audio-visual techniques: developed a pattern involving introduction, first showing of film, question and discussion period, second showing of film
- . apprentice and cooperating teacher worked as a team, switching back and forth between respective roles of teacher and teacher aide
- . children's enjoyment during lessons in physical education given by apprentice
- . apprentice's good results in math and science lessons.

Evaluation by the MIN teaching team

a. Apprentice teacher. The three-month period was thought to have provided an effective level of involvement in teaching for the apprentice, but was not considered sufficient to allow her to take full responsibility for a classroom as an independent teacher. The project helped the apprentice to gain confidence and overcome shyness. Planning and teaching lessons were seen by the apprentice as the most effective part of the program in terms of developing teaching techniques and insight into child psychology, as well as personal academic upgrading and improvement of her ability to express herself.

Technical resource persons were said to have contributed many practical suggestions regarding planning and research methods, as well as providing valuable personal encouragement. The apprentice learned to use the library in planning lessons. Observing and discussing other teachers' lessons helped the apprentice understand the planning process better.

Involvement of community resource people in the teaching activities through the local education committee was felt to be important in providing a learning experience in organizational skills for local people. Children showed high interest in the teaching of native handicrafts. Seminars were beneficial mainly through exchange of ideas and questions with other apprentices. Writing daily notes increased the apprentice's awareness of certain problems.

The main difficulties experienced were: explaining mathematics, that is, expressing abstract concepts· maintaining control when teaching large groups of children: expressing her questions at the seminar: interpreting the meaning of evaluation questionnaire forms.

Only children at the Grade 3 level and younger expressed an interest in the apprentice's work. Older children were polite but did not seek contact with her as did younger children.

Although individual local residents offered personal encouragement to the apprentice, the overall community attitude toward the apprentice teacher seemed to be wait-and-see. People generally seemed to be waiting to see if the program would be followed through as planned, and if the apprentice would adapt to her new role.

It was felt that the apprentice teacher position would have been too demanding for a young person just out of school, and that only seriously committed, mature persons should be considered for such in-service training.

The role of coordinator for native cultural inclusion programs was seen as a difficult one, demanding much leadership skill and wide general acceptance among all community groups. Local people would tend to criticize a new community leader until the individual has proven his or her ability.

The apprentice teacher did not see the NWT Teacher Education Program as accessible to her because family responsibilities compelled her to stay in her home community. Because of her personal situation she felt best suited to enter the NWT Teacher Assistant Program.

[] b. Cooperating teacher. The effectiveness of the three-month in-service training period was described as depending on the background and ability of the individual apprentice. In this particular case, three months did not seem enough to permit the apprentice to handle a class on her own. It was felt that in general the maximum achievement to be expected in three months would be for an apprentice teacher to function responsibly and control a small group within the class. The practical experience gained by the apprentice was thought to be a good preparation for more formal teacher training.

It was remarked that older, more mature persons such as the apprentice at this site were the best candidates for the teacher apprentice role because they were reliable in assuming responsibility. The apprentice's main problems in the eyes of the cooperating teacher were: lesson preparation, planning, organizing, distinguishing main points from details, and having all material ready in time; paying too much attention to the needs of individual pupils, at the expense of the group; formulating responses to program evaluation questionnaires.

The apprentice's main strengths in the eyes of the cooperating teacher were: her pleasant manner with the children and their affection for her; her ability to work hard on her own in researching lessons: effective teaching of individual children; her cooperative and helpful attitude toward team-teaching. The apprentice was assessed as a good teacher assistant.

Since there was not enough time to do a special curriculum development project, the apprentice teacher organized instead a successful field trip for the children to visit a trapline.

The program was found to place very heavy demands on the time and energy ~~of~~ the cooperating teacher. Discussions of the teaching team were important to the apprentice's encouragement and development, but were time-consuming and tiring. The cooperating teacher felt she did not have sufficient time to help with the apprentice's formal academic upgrading.

Activities of the apprentice were varied between observing, teaching, and assisting individual children; this prevented her from becoming bored. The apprentice was greatly encouraged by her discussions with the other apprentice teachers.

[] The training period for such a program should be extended to half the school year, with the apprentice spending two days per week doing team teaching and the other days either at the adult education center or observing other teachers. The apprentice should collect and file teaching ideas during the training period. The cooperating teacher concurred with the view expressed by other staff members that the apprentice's credibility in the eyes of the community was doubtful because she had been chosen by a committee which some people, including the cooperating teacher, considered non-representative of the community. It was felt also that the process of setting up the program, choosing the apprentice, and so on, had been too rapid and not sufficiently based on a clear understanding of the project by the community.

Evaluation by technical resource persons

a. Gail Shellhorn, NWT Teacher Consultant, Inuvik region (visit, month 1). The apprentice teacher was seen as suited for work at the primary level, where she would be able to concentrate on teaching methods and organization rather than course content. It was felt that the apprentice would make a competent and effective classroom assistant, and that she showed strong interest toward her work in the school. Her association with the school staff and her continued involvement with teaching as well as upgrading through correspondence courses and adult education classes were seen as important means to strengthening the apprentice's academic knowledge.

[] The apprentice's detailed lesson plans and observation notes showed that she put a great deal of time and thought into her teaching activities. The apprentice appeared quite relaxed when in charge of the class, and the children responded well to her. The apprentice's teaching of math to the class was found to be somewhat more teacher-directed than desirable. It was suggested that the apprentice work with a smaller group and try to induce more spontaneous pupil activity. It was also suggested that the apprentice should continue to work with a teacher as a classroom assistant, while at the same time concentrating on becoming familiar with the newest teaching methods and materials, and trying to develop her insight into educational objectives and philosophies.

The school staff members seemed to be in support of the principles on which the MIN apprentice teacher program were based, but held some doubt as to the necessity for setting up such a special program. Some teachers also felt that the apprentice represented the interests of one small group rather than of the whole community.

b. Dr. Cy Hampson, University of Alberta, Edmonton (visit, month 2). The apprentice was found to have no difficulty operating at the Grade 3 level, and showed maturity and high interest in becoming a teacher. Dr. Hampson suggested that she should increase her competency, and then proceed to the NWT Teacher Education Program. It was felt that she needed a deeper understanding of learning theory, but that this could be acquired through working with her cooperating teacher, who was considered to be of high caliber.

The apprentice's strongest subject areas were thought to be in the natural sciences, and in native culture, with areas of weakness identified as mathematics and the physical sciences. Her rapport with the children was perceived as excellent because of her personal sensitivity toward them, and because of her familiarity with the problems and aspirations of native people. Progress in lesson planning and organization was definitely good, as was the apprentice's potential for increasing her own academic knowledge through participation in teaching. Continuing practice in team-teaching, participation in teaching workshops, academic upgrading, and involvement in professional short courses and programs in cross-cultural teacher education were thought to be essential to the apprentice's continued progress.

The attitudes of the principal and the staff were favorable to the MIN apprentice teacher, but some of the staff doubted that the project period was long enough to produce measurable results. The community people encountered, including most members of the school committee, seemed pleased at the apprentice's involvement in the program.

c. Marjorie McMillan, Curriculum Division, NWT Department of Education, Yellowknife (visit, month 2). The apprentice teacher was described as a capable young woman who related very well to the children and to the young adults. The team-teaching approach was assessed as working very well with much careful planning and

cooperation between the apprentice and cooperating teacher. The apprentice teacher was actively involved in community affairs, and her personal knowledge of the native people appeared especially beneficial to the school. The apprentice's planning and use of materials seemed quite effective, and her relations with the children, community, and staff were positive. It was suggested that she would benefit from the NWT Teacher Assistant course, and that she would be a very good candidate for the role of a full-time native language and culture specialist, rotating among all the classes on a regular basis.

d. Audie Dyer, Principal, NWT Teacher Education Program, Fort Smith (visit, month 3). The apprentice teacher was found to be hard-working, cooperative, and very well-liked by staff and children. She appeared to give children special security as a "mother image." She had made great progress in both confidence and teaching ability, with the able support of her cooperating teacher. Her strongest teaching skills seemed to be her ability to work well with others and to teach in the area of native culture and handicrafts. It was remarked that she would need further development in verbalizing, dealing with questions, and abstract planning. Her formal academic background in the sciences and mathematics were suggested as prime targets for upgrading work, and she was felt to have the necessary maturity, intelligence, and ambition to benefit from academic upgrading assistance, involvement in the NWT Teacher Assistant course,expanded personal reading, and travel. She was assessed as coping well with the role of an assistant teacher, and as definitely having the potential of becoming a full-fledged teacher through the enrichment activities suggested above. The mathematics correspondence course in which she had enrolled was seen as one way of determining the potential rate of her further academic development.

Attitudes of the teachers and the community toward the program were seen as generally favorable. There was some indication of doubts as to whether or not the apprentice had been chosen by a representative education committee, and also some question as to whether the project should have been initiated by the Arctic Institute rather than by the NWT Department of Education. The project itself, however, was generally regarded by the community and school staff as worthwhile.

e. J.A. MacDiarmid, Curriculum Division, NWT Department of Education, Yellowknife (visit, month 3). The apprentice teacher's pleasant manner in dealing with the children and their acceptance of her as a teacher were quite impressive. It was suggested that the NWT Teacher Assistant course would be useful in providing her with a background in basic teaching methods, and that it best suited the apprentice's family responsibilities. The team-teaching approach was described as working very smoothly, thanks to the hard work and cooperation of the apprentice and cooperating teacher. It was concluded that the apprentice was well-suited to be a teacher assistant.

The attitude of the staff toward the MIN apprentice teacher program appeared to be quite critical. This was apparently not due so much to aims or content of the program, but rather to the way in which it was organized. It was apparently regarded as having been imposed on the school by an outside organization, whereas the teachers felt that such programs should be initiated by the NWT Department of Education itself. There were felt to be communication and information gaps between the school, the community, the MIN project staff, and the NWT Department of Education. Teachers seemed to think that the native-dominated education committee which chose the apprentice teacher was self-appointed and represented only one local ethnic group (examination of the membership of the education committee, however, showed equal representation from all local ethnic groups). It was apparently felt that the committee should have been created by a lengthy formal election process (the committee was elected at one of several public meetings which preceeded the project). On the other hand, the staff also seemed to feel that a formal election process was not feasible to form a school committee in this community. It was implied that since the teachers regarded the school committee's formation as undemocratic, they also saw the choice of the apprentice teacher as undemocratic.

3. SITE II*

Selecting apprentice teacher and cooperating teacher

After the information on the project had first been presented to the community, and well before the study got started, a group of interested persons formed a school committee of which the chairman was also Indian Band Chief and co-chairman of the settlement council. The school committee chairman, after discussion with committee members, sent a series of letters to potential candidates in the community. This letter explained briefly the nature of the project and invited those interested in the apprentice teacher position to submit to the chairman a letter of application, outlining previous education and employment and giving specific reasons for wanting to become a teacher. The chairman's letter also contained a number of direct questions to be answered, relating to the candidate's interest in children and willingness to work through an in-service training program.

The apprentice teacher, selected by the chairman of the school committee after a review of applications, was a young woman with Grade 12 schooling and some previous experience with children as a playground supervisor. She was from a well-respected Indian family and spoke Loucheux fluently; she also had a good background understanding of the local native life-style. Her long-range objectives were to complete her matriculation subjects and become a certified teacher through the regular NWT Teacher Education Program at Fort Smith.

The person selected as cooperating teacher had already taken the initiative on her own, before the MIN study, of successfully presenting to the Department of Education for funding a proposal for a special innovative program in her class, based on the discovery approach to learning, and incorporating native language and culture as well as outdoor learning activities. Since the MIN project's educational aims were in many ways similar to her own, it seemed natural that the apprentice teacher experiment be a complementary part of other activities planned for her class. She also took part in helping to set up the school committee and was a member of that committee throughout the MIN study period.

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* For a description of Site II, see Table 1, p.10.

Team-teaching approach

The team-teaching situation in Site II was strongly conditioned by the use of the discovery approach to learning, with the classroom largely organized around centers of interest, individualized learning programs, small group activities, and special projects. The two members of the MIN teaching team, after providing a basic framework of activities and learning materials to the children, sought to act mainly as resource persons for individualized instruction rather than following a highly-structured pattern of controlled classroom activities. Both the cooperating teacher and the apprentice teacher based their approach on person-to-person communications with individual children, concentrating on relating classroom environment to children's psychological needs and to social conditions prevalent in the community. The teaching team's approach to planning was informal, being geared to the perceived needs of the class and the demands being made on the teachers at any particular point in the program. Periods of intensive planning alternated with periods of improvisation and relaxed planning. Observation by the apprentice teacher was mostly limited to the cooperating teacher's classroom throughout the first part of the program. Then, during the last month of the program, the apprentice planned and conducted her own program of observation in other classes, where she was exposed to a wide variety of teaching styles. Besides her normal participation in most classroom activities, the apprentice teacher was given special responsibility for teaching in certain subject areas. This included setting up and carrying out, on her own initiative, a special math project based on a playstore which the children organized and ran themselves, and which aimed at giving the children a good understanding of the practical everyday uses of arithmetic in the community (the apprentice teacher had worked in a local store before she became involved with the school). The apprentice was also given full responsibility early in the project for the physical education program. The fact that she had previous experience as a summer playground supervisor was no doubt useful to her in this aspect of the work. In addition the apprentice took a very active role in the joint planning of the social studies program.

Curriculum and cultural inclusion

The apprentice teacher was very actively involved during the first month of the project period with the local education committee. She acted as a coordinator for community-guided education activi-

ties sponsored by this committee, being responsible for locating community resource persons and materials, and for planning and organizing a variety of learning activities based on native language, culture, handicrafts, and so on. In addition she taught native language, beadwork, and sewing herself. The social studies program that she helped to plan and teach was built around the way of life of the local people, as was the playschool project she organized.

Apprentice's personal adjustment

The apprentice teacher experienced some minor difficulties of control, particularly with those children whose parents disagreed with the program's concept. There were also some strains experienced by the apprentice in trying to maintain a balance between the heavy demands of home life (household work, family responsibilities, and the time requirements of lesson planning). It became necessary for her to find more relaxed, independent living accommodations which allowed her enough personal freedom to concentrate on her work. She maintained very good personal relations with almost all members of the community but noticed one or two incidents of jealousy toward her after she became the apprentice teacher. There were some very obvious signs of jealousy and professional criticism directed toward the cooperating teacher by a few members of the school staff and the community who lacked information on the program and were critical of its aims. These gradually subsided as information on the project was more widely disseminated, and as it became clear that the MIN teaching team had the full support of the principal and the NWT Department of Education.

Apprentice teacher's activities and progress assessment by MIN teaching team

A condensed report of the apprentice teacher activities at Site II, with her own assessment and that of the cooperating teacher, follows.

a. Activities of apprentice teacher

- teaching physical education, traditional forms of sewing
- attempt to teach math
- community-guided teaching in all classrooms of school
- coordinating participation of community people in school committee's program of community-guided education.

b. Assessment of apprentice teacher

- children's satisfaction with personal attention received and interest toward native cultural activities (necessity to vary those activities to keep their interest stimualated)
- president of the school committee's personal interest during his visit to the class
- interest of parents and eagerness of many local native people to help in native cultural activities
- interest in and spontaneous use of the Loucheux language by pupils
- certain ability to control classroom during teacher's absence
- teaching work easier to handle by the end of the month.

c. Assessment of cooperating teacher

- apprentice was hard-working, well-organized, imaginative, and spontaneous
- apprentice's good relations with children and teachers
- apprentice's ability to draw out creative responses from children
- sensitivity to the learning problems of individual children
- first, rather conventional, teaching approach quickly changed to the use of questioning techniques and activity-centered approach
- good ability to mark and analyze children's work in creative writing
- children's enjoyment for personal attention received
- first attempt to teach math was unsuccessful but quickly improved.

Month 2

a. Activities of apprentice teacher

- reduction of her role of coordinating the school committee activities in all classrooms to those taking place in her classroom only
- experimentation with various methods of teaching and classroom organization (activity-centered approach to math, individualized reading programs, physical education program, grouping practices)
- marking and grading of children's work by both teachers together.

b. Assessment of apprentice teacher

- insisted on necessity of explaining report cards in the native language and delivering them personally to the parents
- usefulness of analysis of mistakes done during previous lessons or activities for planning new lessons
- local community people's enthusiasm for apprentice's teaching remained high.

c. Assessment of cooperating teacher

- traditional teaching methods de-emphasized in favor of a "discovery" approach to learning, focussing on activity centers, small group projects, and individualized learning programs
- apprentice's very successful work as a coordinator for the school committee and as an important communications link between school and community in cultural inclusion activities
- full-fledged role of a classroom assistant assumed within the first week
- coordination of individualized reading and small group activities by apprentice difficult at first but rapidly improved
- apprentice's success in assuming full responsibility for the class's physical education program (initiated skiing as one of the elements)
- general success and improvement in teaching math to a group of children, using an activity-centered approach
- playstore project based on the needs of a typical northern trapper and used by small groups in rotation
- planning by the apprentice and cooperating teacher of a social studies program based on native northern culture, local community life.

Month 3

a. Activities of apprentice teacher

- continued involvement in classroom teaching activities
- extensive observation in other classrooms of the school

- application for the NWT Teacher Education Program and setting up a very extensive timetable of observation and involvement in several classes of the school (as a good basis for future teaching)
- heavy involvement in organizing a traditional feast and display by the children of the school to demonstrate their progress in native culture.

b. Assessment of apprentice teacher

- difficulty in finding time to concentrate on her teaching because of lack of working space at home and demands of household responsibilities; the problem was remedied by her moving into more independent living accommodations
- open criticism of the project by a few White parents and teachers
- teaching work getting easier because of experience
- persistent behavior problems from a few specific children, whose parents misunderstood or opposed project
- children's high interest in native language and culture
- drop in the interest of the staff, but consistent interest of the principal.

c. Assessment of cooperating teacher

- effective handling by the apprentice of the role of coordinator for the education committee but role so demanding that she had to restrict it to her own classroom
- native community's high interest and support for the MIN apprentice teacher program
- weak point of the program: professional jealousy of teachers toward the cooperating teacher and some personal jealousy within the community toward the apprentice could have been lessened by involving more people as program personnel
- children's increased personal attention
- children's free communication with apprentice teacher.

Evaluation by the [illegible] teaching team

[] a. Apprentice teacher. The three-month period was regarded as too short to permit the apprentice teacher to independently assume a fairly heavy load of teaching responsibilities. It was felt that the three-month classroom experience should lead to further upgrading of formal education. Planning and teaching lessons were considered to be very important to the apprentice teacher's development. Observation of the cooperating teacher and other staff members was useful for picking up practical suggestions for dealing with the apprentice's particular problems, regarding teaching style and organization of learning activities. Involvement of the apprentice with coordinating the participation of local people in cultural inclusion programs allowed her to successfully use her personal knowledge of her home community. Teaching math deepened the apprentice's own understanding of the subject.

The mid-project seminar increased the apprentice's confidence through her contact with other apprentice teachers. There was not enough time to fully develop special projects. Discussions with the cooperating teacher were very helpful in day-to-day planning of activities, and the apprentice's daily notes were regarded as important for future use.

Main difficulties met by the teaching team were listed as organizing classroom activities: beginning a new project half-way through the school year; opposition to the program from local Whites.

The apprentice teacher program demonstrated the differences between local Whites and natives in attitudes and needs regarding education; White parents incited their children to see the program as worthless, while native children showed obvious enjoyment of the program.

[] The weak points of the program were listed as follows: three months was too short a time period; not enough observation by the apprentice at various grade levels early in the program (apprentice should observe for the first two weeks in various classes, and then choose the grade level which interests her most); all parents of the apprentice's class should be gathered together at the beginning of the project to discuss the apprentice teacher program, cultural inclusion, and so on.

Children were judged to have benefited from the program in terms of their knowledge of their local environment, and also through the personal satisfaction the activities provided. The program was assessed as having brought the parents and the classroom closer together.

[] b. Cooperating teacher. The three-month period was found to be suitable for the apprentice to play an effective classroom role, and for preparing the apprentice teacher for a formal teacher education program. The criteria for deciding when a person is ready to teach independently should be based on the competencies required, rather than on the number of years of teacher training. Teacher education should be geared to the individual needs of each teacher rather than a "standardized" training pattern. However, in the case of native northern teachers it remains to be determined to what extent their qualifications give them access to teaching outside the NWT and how much personal mobility they, in fact, want as individuals.

The two most essential parts of the program to the apprentice's teacher education were: planning and teaching of regular lessons and special projects, and observation of the cooperating and other teachers. Both of these were very much interrelated with the use of local culture content.

[] The prime value of the technical resource persons' visit was in supporting the morale of the teaching team. The mid-project seminar presented too much information on too wide a variety of topics for all of it to have been absorbed by the apprentice. The apprentice's role as a coordinator for the education committee, although very effectively handled, was demanding enough to be treated as a separate project. In order to have time to concentrate on her teaching as such she found she had to restrict her coordinating activities to her own classroom.

[] Heavy responsibility and time demands were placed on the teaching team. If such a program were to become permanent it could only be sustained by more relaxed time allotments, and some financial incentive for the cooperating teacher.

Many other teachers apparently took a defensive position, seeing the project as a professional threat. This was translated into attempts to discredit the project via critical gossip. Since

the project was well-supported by technical resource persons, the NWT Department of Education policy, the principal, and some staff members, dissidents found themselves forced by circumstances to increase native cultural inclusion in their own activities to protect their professional image. This was mainly confined to handicrafts, however, with little apparent attempt at infusing native culture into "academic" subjects (math, science, language arts). Children in other classes were said to envy the pupils of the MIN teaching team.

The native community in general showed high interest in and support for the MIN apprentice teacher program, while a small but powerful "white élite," plus a few of its native associates, mounted extremely agressive opposition to it.

[] The weak point of the program appears to have been that it generated professional jealousy in teachers toward the cooperating teacher, and some personal jealousy within the community toward the apprentice. More people should be involved as program personnel to provide each other with mutual support, and to reduce the numbers of those who feel "left out." Benefits of the program to the children were listed as increased personal attention; free communication with apprentice teacher; use of native culture in the program. Potential for successful use of the MIN approach in other classrooms was seen as dependent on the education philosophy of cooperating teachers regarding cultural inclusion and the degree to which a balanced team-teaching situation can be realized.

Evaluation by technical resource persons

a. Gail Shellhorn, NWT Teacher Consultant, Inuvik region (visit, month 1). The apprentice teacher was seen as an excellent choice for her role, having a strong desire and the ability to become a teacher. It was felt that the apprentice had no difficulty working at her class grade level (3 and 4), and that she was capable of working with older children as well. The apprentice's approach was perceived as involving a lot of forethought and careful consideration before expanding her role in actively assuming teacher responsibility. Attitudes of the staff and children toward the apprentice appeared very positive. It was noted that the children actively sought her help and attention as much as that of the cooperating teacher. The "store project" initiated by the apprentice was thought to be well planned.

Regarding academic upgrading it was estimated that the apprentice should only begin working on Grade 12 matriculation after her active participation in teaching was terminated, since the Grade 12 academic material would require much concentrated work. As to ways of improving the apprentice's teaching skills, it was recommended that she observe teaching in more structured classrooms so as to get a balanced general view of various basic teaching skills employed at the primary level.

b. Prof. Cy Hampson, University of Alberta, Edmonton (visit, month 2). The apprentice teacher was described as "a most promising prospect for the teaching professions." She was found to be alert, energetic, thoughtful, and well-liked by her pupils. Her notes on teaching and pupil observation revealed a good understanding of her classroom situation.

The apprentice's strongest teaching areas were identified as native culture and social studies. Since she had expressed strong interest in becoming a teacher and visibly enjoyed working with children, it was suggested that she should be encouraged to finish her Grade 12 matriculation and enter the NWT Teacher Education Program. Continued apprentice teaching was judged to be valuable in her development as a teacher, especially because of the competence of the cooperating teacher involved.

The attitudes of the staff and community toward the MIN project appeared positive.

[] c. Marjorie McMillan, Curriculum Division, NWT Department of Education, Yellowknife (visit, month 2). The apprentice was found to be "a plesant, responsible young person who seemed most interested in the children and in the work she was doing." The team-teaching approach was working well, and the children visibly enjoyed the experience. The apprentice was nervous when observed but performed well when alone. Her grasp of planning and of the activity-centered teaching approach seemed quite effective. She was not assessed as being ready yet for full teaching responsibilities, but showed good potential for further training. It was suggested that practical experience in the classroom as an assistant plus observation of other teachers would be helpful to the apprentice. The apprentice teacher's areas of teaching strength were thought to be native language and native handicrafts.

The apprentice had established good personal relations with her pupils, and was fully supported by the cooperating teacher and principal. People of the community expressed their support both of the apprentice as a person and also of the apprentice teacher program in which she was involved. However, the staff appeared to be uninvolved and somewhat ambivalent toward the program, feeling that their contribution to it was not invited.

d. Audie Dyer, Principal, NWT Teacher Education Program, Fort Smith (visit, month 3). The apprentice teacher was notable for her hard-working and patient attitude. She was said to have poise, good personal presence in the classroom and a well-developed philosophy of teaching. The team-teaching situation was described as a healthy balance between cooperation and individualism. A key role was played by the apprentice as a communicator, promoting better mutual understanding between the school and the community. Her work in organizing a traditional feast and display in the school for the community was regarded as both creative and highly successful. Her personal relations with the school staff, the children, and the community were evaluated as excellent.

The apprentice's academic background, with the exception of the sciences, was assessed as being quite good and she was seen as well-suited to enter the NWT Teacher Education Program. She had demonstrated the ability to plan and do research on her own, and to handle abstract concepts easily. Her class control, planning ability, and sensitivity to the needs of individual children were seen as her prime teaching strengths; shyness and low voice projection were listed as areas for further improvement. It was recommended that the apprentice enter the NWT Teacher Education Program, where she would get further academic upgrading in maths and science, wider reading experience, and practice in group discussion. The response of the "vast majority" of the community and children to the MIN apprentice teacher was one of approval. It was noted, however, that there seemed to be a small but very vocal minority in the community and on the school staff who had opposed, for a time, both the new NWT curriculum and the MIN education project. It was felt that the MIN apprentice teacher had been caught in this conflict, and that the experience had raised her level of insight into northern education.

4. SITE III*

Selecting apprentice teacher and cooperating teacher

Although all local native people contacted were in favor of the idea of having a native apprentice teacher in the school, it was difficult at first to locate potential candidates. At the large public meeting which was held to explain the project, the local people suggested several young persons in the adult education program who might fit the apprentice teacher role. However, even though these persons expressed general interest in and approval of the project, they were not able to get involved for various reasons: one was already working as a teacher assistant for adult education, another felt he needed more academic upgrading, and a third said he didn't feel suited to work with children. Finally, the Chief (also chairman of the settlement council) offered to locate an apprentice teacher in consultation with members of the community and with the adult education teacher. Acting on a recommendation from the adult education teacher, the Chief approved a young man of the settlement as the community's choice for the apprentice teacher position.

The apprentice teacher selected had applied the previous year for the teacher assistant position. He was recommended by the adult education teacher for the MIN experimental program because of his good academic performance and reliable attendance in adult education classes, and for his known interest in teaching. He had achieved Grade 10 level schooling through the adult education program, and spoke the Slavey language fluently. He had spent some time out of the settlement, but had indicated that he wished to return home, and if possible, work in his home community. When contacted and asked if he was interested in the apprentice teacher position, he said that he definitely was and soon after returned to the settlement to begin his training in the school.

* For a description of Site III, see Table 1, p.10.

The individual who became the cooperating teacher volunteered for the position upon his first contact with the background information on the project, but stated that the final choice of the cooperating teacher should be determined by the apprentice teacher's preference of a working partner. He himself had previously initiated his own program of outdoor art, based on the utilization of objects and materials found in the natural surroundings of the area (driftwood, plants, bones, natural dyes, and so on), and was generally interested in curriculum development based on the local language, culture, and natural environment. The school principal concurred that this person would have good potential for the cooperating teacher role.

Team-teaching approach

The team-teaching approach used at this site was especialy focussed on the development of new curriculum materials based on the native language and culture. A great deal of emphasis was placed on the value of the native language and on its use as a learning tool. The program began with the exposure of the apprentice to all available teaching styles in the school, including demonstrations by the cooperating teacher of traditional teaching methods. The apprentice was then free to plan his observation of other teachers according to his perceived needs, and he was encouraged to develop his own personal teaching style. The apprentice teacher began teaching in the Slavey language very early in the program. Once he had developed a reasonable command of the basic teaching skills, the next steps were to give him responsibility for teaching half-days on a regular basis, followed ultimately by giving him full continuous responsibility for half the class. The team-teaching aspect of the program was handled as much as possible by dividing teaching responsibilities equally, with the apprentice having a high level of independence. Regular daily planning and evaluation discussions took place, complemented by intensive planning and preparation of materials on weekends. The teaching team experimented with a variety of teaching approaches including both conventional and discovery methods.

Curriculum and cultural inclusion

Elements of the native language and culture were infused into most subject areas. Two notable examples were in the language arts (an illustrated, 22-page bilingual Slavey-English book was

produced, with the content being based on Slavey culture, technology, and traditional skills), and in science (the apprentice taught a series of lessons on mammals common to the region and the children produced scrap-books based on these lessons).

A local native resource person came into the class regularly to teach Slavey language and culture, including demonstration of the skills and tools associated with dressing animal skins. The apprentice teacher program was marked by a very extensive use of the native language, both as a language of instruction and as a subject of study. English and Slavey were compared through bilingual teaching plus special lessons and materials developed for language comparison.

Apprentice's personal adjustment

Heavy family responsibilities at home consumed the free time and energy of the apprentice at certain periods during the program. He was also subjected to very close moral scrutiny and criticism by local Whites with regard to his social behavior outside school hours. Personal relations of the apprentice teacher with other staff members and with the native community remained generally good. He was approached by native people of the community for help in better writing and English-Slavey translation: at one point he was asked if he would consider running for a settlement council position. There were times, however, when the cooperating teacher felt a certain pressure through being compelled to act as a buffer between the apprentice teacher and those White residents and teachers who lacked understanding of or sympathy for the apprentice teacher program.

Apprentice teacher's activities and progress assessment by MIN teaching team

Month 1

a. Activities of apprentice teacher

- . observation in all classes and subject areas
- . correction of children's work
- . supervisory duties
- . average of at least two lessons per day

- visit by the MIN teaching team and the class to the tent home of an Indian man living in the "old way" and explanation in Slave language of the traditional tools and objects observed there (this visit was followed up by having the class build a model of the old settlement before the arrival of the White man)
- lessons and special activities taught outdoors
- setting up and use of a playstore to teach children how to count money
- social studies program set up to produce an illustrated bilingual reader on the tools and artifacts of the area (with photos and drawings of various artifacts)
- science program based on the animals of the region.

b. Assessment of apprentice teacher

- children's enjoyment of his presence in the classroom
- active interest of some of the most quiet children when the Slavey language was used by apprentice for teaching
- respect and attention of all children from the beginning (they regarded him as having the status of a teacher by the end of the month)
- personal shyness quickly overcome and enjoyment of teaching felt
- noticeable interest of the children for their language and culture when the apprentice taught them, in the native language, lessons about the region surrounding the settlement.

c. Assessment of cooperating teacher

- initial impression: favorable response to the apprentice by the children
- rapid progress in teaching effectiveness by apprentice
- use of the apprentice's general, personal knowledge of the surrounding region to ensure correct content of lessons relating to the local natural environment
- apprentice's improved understanding of teaching techniques
- apprentice's great patience with children and enjoyment in working with them
- good follow-up of the teaching of a local native resource person by the apprentice's review, native language discussions, and special activities related to the lesson

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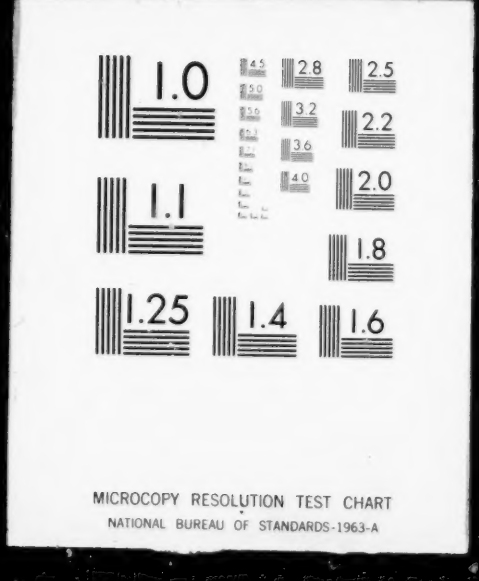

- faster understanding of lessons by children if material presented first in Slave language
- children's enjoyment with outdoor lessons and activities
- objection of non-Slave speaking children to the teaching of Slave because they felt either left out or thought the lessons unimportant when taught in Slave (the cooperating teacher wondered how Indian pupils feel about lessons taught in English!)
- improved attendance of children after the apprentice talked to the parents
- successful use of the audio-visual techniques in teaching math
- greater confidence after participation in mid-project seminar.

Month 2

a. Activities of apprentice teacher

- teaching of the Slave language and great use of the Slave language by children and apprentice
- helping local native people to read English
- full responsibility for one entire grade on a regular half-day basis (he alternated weekly between Grades 3 and 4)
- initiation by apprentice of the teaching of Indian beadwork through use of community resource person
- beginning of Grade 12 correspondence course in biology.

b. Assessment of apprentice teacher

- work becoming much easier
- full confidence about his teaching the native language
- children's respect and eagerness to learn more about the native language and culture and to use Slave language in class
- no particular interest of other teachers in his work
- lessening of contact between him and the teachers after an incident in which several local residents criticized the apprentice's personal behavior outside his work situation.

Note: The criticisms of a few White residents against what they imagined to be the apprentice teacher's conduct were thoroughly investigated by the MIN field reporter and were found to be based on insinuation and hear-say rather than fact. The incident was reported by the principal to the local superintendent who advised him to drop the matter unless there was any clear evidence which could prove the apprentice's behavior was unacceptable. The chairman of the settlement council expressed his continuing support of the MIN apprentice teacher at this time.

c. Assessment of cooperating teacher

- children's remaining high response to Slave language and culture teaching
- apprentice's ability to assume full responsibility for one entire grade
- apprentice's readiness to enter the NWT Teacher Education Program
- effective use of the teaching aids and more relaxed, firm, confident teaching manners
- ability to teach effectively with a group of 15 children
- more active interest of staff members in the project
- apprentice's improved efficiency in writing the Slave language
- successful teaching of math to the entire combined Grades 3 and 4 class.

Note: During the final week of this month, the project seems to have gone through a crisis associated with heavy criticisms by local Whites of the apprentice's personal conduct outside school hours. This coincided with the apprentice being absent for a day, and arriving late with lessons unprepared on the following day. The cooperating teacher expressed profound discouragement and doubt as to whether the program could continue. The main issue was not connected with the apprentice's teaching ability, but rather with his personal "acceptability" in the eyes of the White establishment. The cooperating teacher and the apprentice discussed the matter frankly and thoroughly and then proceeded with the program, having established a firm understanding to reconsolidate their efforts and their mutual cooperation.

Month 3

a. Activities of apprentice teacher

- gradual diminution of teaching activities
- work on a Grade 12 correspondence course.

b. Assessment of apprentice teacher

- course found difficult at first because of lack of textbook but help and encouragement of cooperating teacher provided necessary support to overcome this
- friendly, positive relations with children.

c. Assessment of cooperating teacher

- slow-down in production of the bilingual social studies material and teaching activities due to work on correspondence course and family duties
- apprentice's good potential to become a teacher providing that further academic upgrading, further exposure to modern teaching techniques, and a wider range of experience be made available to him
- necessity for the apprentice to adapt his social habits to fit in with the pattern demanded by society of teachers as professionals*
- successful teaching of a wide variety of subjects combined with academic studies (correspondence course).

Evaluation by the MIN teaching team

a. Apprentice teacher. He felt that although the three-month period provided an introduction to the basics of teaching, at least six months would have been required for him to develop a really effective role in the classroom with a fairly heavy load of teaching responsibilities. Those parts of the program from which the apprentice learned the most about teaching, listed in order of importance, were:-

* This alludes to criticism of apprentice's personal conduct out of school by White residents.

. planning and teaching lessons
. visits of technical resource persons
. classroom observation of other teachers
. classroom observation of the cooperating teacher
. teaching native culture and language
. teaching standard school subjects
. experimenting with special teaching projects
. discussions with the cooperating teacher.

The main difficulties met by the apprentice were how to hold the attention of his pupils, and achieving "teacher status" in the eyes of the children and parents, most of whom knew the apprentice before he took up his role in the classroom.

[] Although the apprentice felt he attracted the attention of the children in the school, he did not see any changes in the school's overall approach to education resulting from the apprentice teacher program. The apprentice noticed no impact of the apprentice teacher program on the attitudes or involvement of parents regarding education. Suggested improvement for an apprentice teacher program were to lengthen the program period to six months; to allow apprentice to first fully observe all classrooms, and then choose which classroom he wants to work in; to arrange for apprentice teachers from different settlements to work in each other's classrooms for at least two weeks. The program benefited the children by having them learn about their own language and culture. Such a program should be used in other classes, as it makes teaching easier. The fact that the apprentice started later than planned prevented him from establishing close ties with the parents.

[] It was felt that ideally the objective of the program should be to lead the apprentice to several possibilities including complete control of and responsibility for his own classroom, further teacher training; upgrading courses for raising the apprentice's level of formal education; developing the role of teaching specialist for native culture and/or coordinator for participation of other local people in teaching activities.

b. Cooperating teacher. The three-month period was seen as being sufficient for the apprentice to develop a really effective role in the classroom, but it was felt that further academic upgrading and teacher education were required for the apprentice to become a full-fledged teacher in his own right. The most important activity for the apprentice's development as a teacher was stated to be planning and teaching lessons in the classroom. Other program activities which rated high in this regard were: discussions with the cooperating teacher; classroom observation of the cooperating teacher; teaching native culture, language, or handicrafts; teaching standard school subjects. Both the mid-project seminar and the visits of technical resource persons were rated as of low utility relative to development of the apprentice's teaching skills.

The apprentice's main problem was seen as adapting to "social" values and expectations regarding the personal conduct appropriate to a teacher. In addition, some minor difficulties with the use of written English were noticed.

The program attracted the attention of other teachers. One teacher associated herself with it by using the curriculum material developed through it. Other teachers felt it was worthless and predicted its failure. Not much attention from the community toward the project was noticeable.

A key factor in programs of this kind would appear to be the selection criteria for candidates. Three are cited: desire to succeed in teaching as a profession, implying wanting to help both the school and the community; willingness to adapt personally to the role of a teacher; desire to overcome educational handicaps.

Evaluation by technical resource persons

a. Marjorie McMillan, Curriculum Division, NWT Department of Education, Yellowknife (visit, month 1). The evaluator was very favorably impressed by apprentice teacher's "natural ease with children which is quite evident in his teaching and control of the class." His sensitivity to the children's attention span and his flexibility in adjusting his planning and teaching style to their interests were especially remarkable. The children showed obvious affection and respect for him.

Team-teaching and planning were reported to be very successful. The apprentice's use of the native language in discussions, lessons, and language comparison was rated as excellent, while native culture projects were seen as progressing well and eliciting high interest and active involvement on the part of the children. It was felt that the apprentice had a good basic academic background but would be stimulated through expanding the range of his general knowledge. He was seen as having a sufficiently high level of enthusiasm and commitment to teaching to be able to successfully undertake a teacher education program. It was noticed that the apprentice showed some signs of weakness in the technical details of such subjects as mathematics, and it was thought that observation and discussion of other teachers' work, plus exposure to professional enrichment, would be a help to him.

The school staff seemed interested in the project, but uninvolved in it. There seemed to be some doubt on the part of the teachers as to what extent their input was considered to be desirable. The community appeared to be generally in favor of the apprentice teacher concept.

b. Audie Dyer, Principal, NWT Teacher Education Program, Fort Smith (visit, month 3). The apprentice teacher was termed "intellectually curious, straight-forward, persevering, and cooperative." The MIN teaching team appeared to function well together. The apprentice had demonstrated an ability to work and and plan on his own, and seemed firmly committed to becoming a teacher. Children appreciated his sense of humor, good voice projection, and expressive personality. They responded especially well to him when he used the native language.

The apprentice's strongest teaching skill was in the area of cultural inclusion. His knowledge of the native language and culture was a key factor in the production of some very creative and useful bilingual curriculum materials. In the more conventional subject areas, however, the apprentice used a less spontaneous approach, indicating a need for further enrichment of his formal academic background. It was recommended that he should do wide personal reading, get further academic upgrading, and enter the NWT Teacher Education Program. He was felt to have the ability to expand his knowledge through personal research and informal study.

The attitude of the staff toward the basic aims and principles of the MIN apprentice teacher program was generally favorable. Some teachers claimed that the apprentice had habits of "non-punctuality, moral flexibility, and non-sobriety," which made him a poor choice for his role. By contrast, the people of the community made no such criticisms of the apprentice, and the native residents expressed strong approval both of the apprentice personally, and of the MIN project in general. The evaluator found the MIN apprentice teacher to be "a good-to-excellent choice" for his role, and insisted on the value of the education committee's commitment to the program. It was noted that the principal described the project as a good one which should be continued.

c. J.A. MacDiarmid, Curriculum Division, NWT Department of Education, Yellowknife (visit, month 3). The evaluator was "very impressed" with the apprentice's "teaching abilities and his obvious sincerity towards the children," and noted that the children responded well to the apprentice's teaching. It was felt that with further teacher training he would make a good teacher. The apprentice seemed enthusiastic and interested about his prospects of becoming a teacher. The team-teaching situation seemed to have worked very well, and the cooperating teacher was credited with having provided plenty of help and encouragement to the apprentice.

The evaluator noticed no definite feelings about the project among either the staff or the community, and felt that while the classroom results of the program were good, its impact was confined to the school.

5. OVERALL EVALUATION AND FINDINGS

From the resource persons' reports

In addition to their specific evaluation, as reported in the preceding chapters on each site, the resource persons made a number of general observations on the MIN experiment, as follows.

[] a. Cy Hampson. It appeared that the experiment should have been longer to allow for assessing each apprentice's development. Also, it was found difficult for the technical resource person to get a clear picture of the local situation in a one- or two-day period. The basic concept of the apprentice teacher program was thought to be a good one provided that the cooperating teachers and apprentice teachers were of a high caliber and that the apprentices were well supported. It was suggested that the MIN apprentice teacher approach be tied in with the NWT Teacher Education Program.

b. Marjorie McMillan. At the three study sites each teaching team was found to be functioning effectively, with all persons involved realizing their potential for actively contributing to and benefiting from the experience. Children responded well to the apprentice teachers and to native culture material. Technical resource persons should have been involved on a long-term basis with the project, rather than making short visits, and more should have been done to assure their contact with community people.

[] The report stated that the MIN project had demonstrated the value of using the apprentice teacher approach as a recruitment and orientation method for the NWT Teacher Assistant and Teacher Education Program. The careful selection of cooperating teachers according to their interest in the project was cited as an important factor favoring the success of the apprentices. The contribution of the apprentices' knowledge and understanding of the native culture was mentioned as major strength of the program. A note of warning was sounded about the possible danger of trying to push the apprentices "too far ahead, too fast" as teachers.

The overall recommendation of the report was that the MIN apprentice teacher approach be used as a recruitment procedure for both the NWT Teacher Assistant Program and the NWT Teacher Education Program, and that it be made possible for persons from either program, once they had proved their competence and interest, to assume the full-fledged role of a classroom teacher.

c. Audie Dyer. Some communications difficulties were experienced in the community, and a certain amount of conflict was generated by the project. This was partly due to the nature of the communities, and partly to the unwillingness of some people to accept a project which was non-governmental. Certain principals and staff members felt they were passed over by the project in the effort to get community people involved. Those who felt left out tended to be critical of the project. Much work and worry was placed on cooperating teachers and "perhaps this might have been lightened by making the program a responsibility of the school rather than of an individual teacher." Formation of school committees and methods used to pick candidates were seen as problem areas by some.

[] All three apprentices had a good learning experience, became more aware of their future educational goals, and showed positive personal development through the project. Apprentices learned many teaching skills and acquired a good understanding of the education process and "the cooperating teachers were magnificent." Each of the schools benefited by the discussion and thinking provoked by the project. The local people participated in the choice and education of the apprentice teacher.

[] "The MIN in-service teacher training project had been tremendously successful in that it had achieved every one of its objectives in each of the three quite unique settlements. Many of its workings and philosophies should be added or adapted to existing programs in the NWT. It is certainly an excellent method of recruiting prospective teachers or teacher assistants. It allowed students to assess themselves and their capabilities in dealing with the school situation. Each of the apprentices showed marked academic changes for the better. It added greatly to the in-service training of cooperating teachers themselves; they tend to be more conscious of community and people problems and the problems involved in teaching teachers."

[] The fact that the program's sponsor (the Arctic Institute) was an independent body gave the individual school some independence. Any teacher education program must cooperate with the school, but it must also have enough independence so that it can differ.

[] d. J.A. MacDiarmid. There should have been fewer technical resource people involved with the project over longer time periods, and their visits to the study sites should have been longer. Also, more care and time should have been put into the selection of the apprentices and the setting up of the project at the local level; organizers should have spent more time per visit in each community and they should have concentrated more on consultation with school staff and community. There should have been more direct discussion between resource persons and apprentice teachers, rather than between resource persons and cooperating teachers.

From the second Inuvik seminar, June 1972

The three teaching teams took the occasion of their June seminar to review the experiment just ended. From their two-day discussions came a series of observations too long to report in detail. In summary:-

[] a. Present situation in the North. At present in the North, the basic problem in education is that of interesting native teachers in and getting them into the schools especially at the primary levels. It is a well-known fact in education that it is in these primary grades that a child learns to express himself freely, which is more important than the amount of knowledge that can be gained. One of the most important factors, therefore, is the native language which allows this clear expression. At present, there are very few full-time qualified native teachers at these crucial levels when in fact every primary position should be filled by them.

[] b. MIN Project: Apprentice Teachers. The MIN project has come up with a program geared to meet the needs of those native people who have the potential or desire to teach but are blocked by southern standards and values, in a system which is moving too slowly in fulfilling its obligations to serve the people.

Problems exist at every level but priorities can be set. The first and most important is encouraging the interest of the young people, by setting up a training process which appeals, both through organization mechanisms and through involvement of the people on a practical and personally rewarding level. This should be encouraged. Valid questions and criticisms come with the program: these can serve to upgrade it but the basic motivation should continuously be kept in mind until such time that the native northern people feel competent enough to want a change, whether in standards or process or whatever. An important point is to move with the people, rather than lead or move too fast in setting up criteria and so on.

c. Good information necessary. The community and the apprentice should be given a clear outline of what the program involves so that the community will know what the apprentice is doing in the class. (This point developed from the fact that the community didn't fully understand what the apprentice was doing in the school, and because the apprentice didn't have a clear concept of the project and found it difficult to explain the program to the local people.)

d. More than one teaching team desirable in a school. As much as possible, or wherever possible, two teams of two (two cooperating teachers with two apprentices) should be used: since the three apprentices worked alone with their cooperating teachers in three separate settlements, they had difficulty in exchanging ideas or discussing problems or encouraging one another. Having more than one team in a school could contribute a great deal to enhance self-confidence of everybody involved.

e. Involvement of the community. Any mechanism to choose an apprentice teacher in native communities must utilize the local people since they know their people best and know too whether an individual can succeed or is capable of doing the job. They should be encouraged more in this area, since much of their decision is based not only on the realistic situation of the individual, but the wisdom and trust that goes with it: they would stimulate the apprentice to want to succeed.

f. Time factor

[] The apprentice teachers said that three months was not enought time to develop their own ideas of what they had learned, but it was just enough to give them an idea of what teaching involved to help them decide if they wanted to continue developing as teachers. The apprentices had good ideas for teaching but couldn't finish them because of lack of time. Seminars and resource people also took away from classroom time. Six months' classroom experience would be enough time for apprentices to get an idea of teaching, and to try out their own ideas to know if what they learned had validity.

Cooperating teachers said that three months was enough for the apprentice to develop an effective role in the classroom, but that the three-month period was too short for the apprentices to help the cooperating teaching in building up a trust with the community; they suggested a six-month project. Although there were instances where spontaneous involvement did happen, it is not something that could be programmed.

[] g. Admission to a teaching career. The criteria to admit a northern native candidate to teaching must be attractive and realistic. Because the basic requirements for the MIN apprentices were based more on interest, personal qualities, and potential to become teachers there was no pressure on the apprentices for immediate qualifications on paper, nor did they have to answer to paper qualifications in performance terms. This meant little red tape; justification for wanting to teach, and being chosen by the community, meant having community confidence. The apprentices could concentrate on involving themselves in learning what teaching involved. But the apprentice teachers found in their own experience that they lacked enough knowledge to perform effectively. In terms of academic subjects such as math, English, science they had to do a lot of research. As in the case of their own culture, more study in how to teach it became desirable.

[] Each of them stated that before MIN came, teaching was a closed door to them; their lack of formal education or their community situation didn't prevent them from getting the MIN job, and they felt they were given a chance and wanted to succeed. However, after a certain period immersed in teaching, they felt a lack in their education and wanted to upgrade or have access to more education for themselves. The experience helped them to know in what areas they were lacking and to know what they wanted to achieve.

h. Follow-up needed. Other young people in the community saw what the apprentice teachers were doing and now want to do it themselves. The program should continue through an independent organization in conjunction with the NWT Department of Education.

From the school principals

The school principals at each site have most significantly contributed to the on-going of the experiment--not surprisingly, since the selection of the three sites proceeded on the assumption that they would, with information to that effect provided to MIN by the educational authorities of the NWT government.

Concerning their respective evalutions, only one of the three found the time to report his on-going evaluation. This was at Site II:-

Month 1

No written report but personal approval of and support for the basic concept of the MIN apprentice teacher program was expressed in conversation with the project organizers, the MIN teaching team, and the school committee.

Month 2

- apprentice well-received by parents and her work respected by the school committee
- open dissension within the community over the question of suggested innovations (for example, the new NWT curriculum guide) in northern education because many people did not attend the meetings of the education committee and therefore did not understand the MIN education project; the most active opposition came from a small group of White residents and teachers who made no attempt to inform themselves
- most teachers were friendly toward the project but the opposition group, aggressive and vocal, created some confusion within the native community's perception of the project
- very positive attitude of the children and cooperating teacher toward the apprentice

- "appreciation of children for more individualized teaching, more interesting lessons, more individual help and greater achievement"
- critical and negative behavior of a few children reflecting their parents' attitudes
- positive reaction of children in other classes
- the principal's own personal assessment was that "the apprentice teacher project was developing very successfully. It had stimulated the benevolent interest of widely-respected members of the native community, and was demonstrating the problems and advantages implied for the long-run implementation of the new trends on the NWT Department of Education's most recent policy objectives."

Month 3*

- continuing enthusiastic interest of the children; impressed by the apprentice's warm personal approach and sincerely good communication with children
- apprentice teacher's success in developing her own methods and teaching programs
- favorable response to the apprentice teacher by the parents
- criticisms from some parents (particularly White) directed not at the apprentice teacher herself but at the project methods, and based on a lack of familiarity with modern educational methods; those criticisms declined after reassurances from the principal and regional superintendent that the new program was educationally sound. Only two teachers who clung to their original opposition to change did so not on the basis of informed opinion but rather out of feelings of emotional or professional insecurity.

* It is worth noting that by the third month the one native parent known to have associated himself publicly with the position of the White opposition group earlier in the project period had by now become actively involved in the class of the MIN teaching team as a resource person for native culture activities.

At the two other sites, the written reports were rather more laconic. That the principals there would not have had time is a possibility that should not be disregarded. From conversations between them and the MIN project organizers and the technical resource people it can be inferred that they did not find the experiment as conclusive as did Site II's principal, though they both considered the experiment successful in that it captured the pupils' sustained interest in and appreciation of the apprentice teacher. They also both noted generally favorable reactions of the local community and school staff.

At one site the principal felt that the choice of the apprentice teacher proved wrong in view of his personal conduct outside of school, which he found morally and ethically incompatible with the role of a teacher. But he concurred with the cooperating teacher's assessment that the apprentice's performance in the school was quite effective.

From the Task Force members

After reviewing the various evaluations made, the Task Force members have come to a number of conclusions concerning the apprentice teachers' training experiment. The following listing is not exhaustive of their findings but tries to single out the ones that seem most significant.

[] a. On the value of the method. The first objective of the experiment was to evaluate a new method for training native people for classroom teaching. The Task Force members feel that it is not possible to make any conclusive statement in this regard: neither to declare that the method tried represents a valid alternative road to training native teachers, nor to declare that it is not.

One reason is undoubtedly that the duration of the experiment was too short to really permit an assessment of how the development of an apprentice teacher can be satisfactorily assured by in-service training compared to the standard ways. In the course of the experiment, the three apprentice teachers rapidly and efficiently surmounted some of the difficulties normal for any teacher at his debut, and their performance as teachers improved

steadily during the experiment. But the three-month period did not suffice for them to achieve the degree of autonomy permitting a judgement on the comparative value of the method in developing leadership qualities and maturity.

Another reason is MIN's failure to fully use some of the mechanisms that constituted the back-bone of the experiment, namely the resource people and the seminar formula, a failure that financial restraints made unavoidable. In spite of the fact that quite a few resource people visited the sites and discussed with the apprentice and the cooperating teachers, most of them could stay for only short periods of time as they had to return to their own professional duties. In fact, they could not fill the feeding role that had been contemplated by the Task Force.

Concerning the seminar formula, the results of the only seminar held while the apprentice teachers and the cooperating teachers were in the experiment were important. The formula is most valuable in terms of mutual support and permits the apprentices, as well as the cooperating teachers, to improve their teaching approaches by analysing the successes and failures met in more than one place. But the duration of the seminars should be a minimum of four days, and their fruitfulness would be enhanced if they would be held in a rather small place (compared to a place like Inuvik).

The support given by the cooperating teachers was outstanding in all the three sites. Those who witnessed it agree that their sustained activity compensated to quite an important degree for the lack of other regular technical help.

In conclusion the members of the Task Force feel that if a new experiment is made, as they think should be the case, a longer period of time--six to eight months--as well as the full use of resource persons and the seminar formula, would be needed to assess the value of the method and provide for the right kind of complimentary up-grading for the apprentice teachers.

b. On the interest of northern native people in education

[] 1. The experiment has been useful to stimulate the interest of the native northerners in the local school. Their general endorsement of the initiative and their continuous support to the apprentice and the cooperating teachers have been quite noticeable.

Even the reticence of a small number and their worries about the academic pertinence of the apprentice teacher courses must be considered as a healthy thing in the whole process of community involvement in the school system that is imposed on them. The questions they ask and the objections they voice are more positive contributions to their involvement than indifference and submissive attitudes. The fact that a native apprentice teacher, chosen by the parents and the community, was teaching their children within the school program has surely contributed significantly to the process of community involvement.

[] 2. The students with whom the apprentice teacher worked have manifested openly their appreciation of both the presence and the lessons of the apprentice teacher. Since everybody recognizes the desirability of having native teachers in the classroon, this point is very important. Indeed many educators are still doubtful about the capability of a native teacher to retain the attention of a class as well as a teacher can do coming from outside the northern environment with full confidence in the magnetism he can exert through "white" discipline and order.

[] 3. The apprentice teachers have liked the experience, and they were proud of themselves especially when they overcame the difficulties encountered. It is obvious that each of the three, during the experiment, discovered new possibilities in terms of self-realization and service to their people. In one case the MIN apprentice teacher in all probability would never have considered that she could be invited to play a significant role in a classroom (with her official Grade 6 preparation, how could she have expected it). The MIN experiment permitted her to enter a new role in life: the success she met in the classroom and the interest she developed have decided her to take formal up-grading courses with the NWT Department of Education in order to stay in a teaching career, even if she does not envisage going all the way through for a B.Ed.

[] c. <u>On the MIN experiment's contribution to the present teacher training policy in the Northwest Territories</u>

The point mentioned concerning the discovery by an apprentice teacher of an unforeseen role for her in disseminating classroom education can be extended to embrace a very interesting aspect of the immediate results of the MIN experiment. In view

of their observations of the MIN experiment, evaluating agents have almost unanimously recognized that the three-month period was an ideal way for a candidate for the Fort Smith Teacher Training Program to discover and feel, before going to the program's sessions, the day-to-day problems facing a teacher in the classroom; to discover his or her own potentialities, capabilities, and taste for a teaching career; and to concretely feel the need for some academic upgrading and increased knowledge of the curriculum content. Also, and of foremost importance, is the fact of their selection as possible candidates for a teaching career by their own community. Such a testimony of confidence cannot but raise not only the self-esteem of the selected candidates but their sense of responsibility toward their community.

Consequently the formula developed by the MIN experiment could most probably be used (a) to help a natural selection of the candidates to formal teacher training courses; and (b) to develop in the candidate a personal need for these courses, with the implied probability of more active participation in the courses.

These points are most important and come as unquestionable practical advantages of the formula used by MIN. The relative lack of interest of the native people for a teaching career can be partly traced to the fact they do not feel they are going to like teaching in a classroom, or whether they will be accepted as teachers by the children, or if consequently it is worthwhile going through a long process of academic upgrading which seems artificial and too demanding.

REPORT THREE:

SOUTHERN TEACHERS FOR THE NORTH

RC 007 645

Report Three
Southern teachers for the North

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PREAMBLE

"The teachers to whom we have to give our children, in the schools in our villages, are not adequately prepared for their job"- so said participants in the 1970 Inuvik Conference on Community Development in the Canadian North, and this verdict decided the Man in the North project to explore the situation, to analyze the causes, and to come out with a series of principles and guidelines to improve the situation. The MIN project asked its Education Task Force to examine the problem: Ghislaine Girard, whose services were generously seconded to MIN by the General Administration of New Quebec, assumed the Task Force's coordination (see pages to for more details on the composition and operation of the Task Force).

At their first meeting in November 1971, the members of the Task Force interpreted the native peoples' complaints concerning the lack of preparation of southern teachers going North in a broader context, covering the preparation and selection of teachers for the North, as well as their transfer or dismissal, their upgrading, and the evaluation of their work once they are in the North. The members of the Task Force felt that all these questions were interrelated when studying the efficiency of teachers in regard to the expectations of the people, and especially if pertinent improvements are to be proposed.

The procedure used for the study involved the following:-

1. two two-day formal meetings of all the members of the Task Force were held, one at the beginning for the planning and the second mid-way for the purpose of discussion and evaluation of findings;

2. two questionnaires were sent in Spring 1972 to northern teachers, one on their perceived satisfaction at work (questionnaire conceived by Professor Jack Cram, McGill University); the second, on mobility factors of northern teachers (questionnaire conceived by Del Koenig, a post-graduate student in education, University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon, with long experience in northern training). The two questionnaires can be obtained from the Arctic Institute in Montreal.

3. a series of meetings of native parents and native students

4. a questionnaire sent to school administrators of the Northwest Territories, New Quebec, Alaska, and Greenland

5. a survey of what is done under the aegis of northern school administrations and Canadian universities to train teachers for the North

6. a series of meetings and discussions of the coordinator with individual members of the Task Force, and of the MIN staff, as well as with other educators.

1. INTRODUCTION

1. Defining terms

The complaints made by the northern native representatives at the 1970 Inuvik Conference embrace all education in the Canadian North. However, the Task Force members decided to limit their study to specific aspects of teaching where problems and possible solutions could be seen most clearly. They designed their study in the following way.

Southern teachers

By southern teachers is meant those who received their teacher training south of 60°; such training prepares them essentially to teach in that cultural environment. The academic knowledge and the moral values that they acquire and develop belong in essence to the society which has formed them--as opposed to the culture of the dominated society, the one of which the native northerners, among others, are members.

TABLE 1
ENROLMENT IN NATIVE NORTHERN ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS, 1970-1971

	Number of Schools	Native Students	Other Students	Native Teachers	Other Teachers (southern)
Northwest Territories	43	4082	638	7	241
New Quebec	12	1330	50		70
	(12)*	(768)*		(27)*	(48)*

* Figures in brackets are for schools operated by the School Commission, New Quebec (Government of Quebec).

Table 1 shows that southern teachers constitute by far the most important segment of the teaching staff in the Canadian North. Although over 60 natives in the Northwest Territories are involved in teaching, only some ten or so of them are really fulfilling teaching tasks; the others are teachers' helpers who are used sometimes to initiate the students to learning, but whose responsibilities are almost entirely restricted to auxiliary tasks, for example, translating, helping with discipline, etc. This situation now has a tendency to evolve; the present teachers' assistants could gradually become regular teachers at certain primary levels in the years to come, thanks to the new teachers' training programs of the territory and to new and more accessible teacher training programs that seem to be in the offing.

In New Quebec the situation is quite different for Eskimo schools administered by the Government of Quebec. The vernacular language is used in kindergarden, Grade 1, and Grade 2 levels since 1964. Almost all the teachers in these classes are Eskimos. But in New Quebec there are also schools administered by the federal government for Eskimos and for Indians; in these schools there is no native teacher (the English language is the official teaching language at all levels), although there are some native teachers' assistants.

The typical southern teacher in the North is married; men and women are about equal in number. Their average age is about 27, and 55% are 29 years old or less.

TABLE 2
SOUTHERN TEACHERS IN THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS OF THE NORTHWEST TERRITORIES AND NEW QUEBEC - SURVEY OF 200 TEACHERS*

Age	Number	Percentage
20-24	25	12.5%
25-29	85	42.5%
30-34	50	25 %
35-39	21	10.5%
40-44	5	2.5%
45-49	7	3.5%
50-54	2	1 %
55-59	4	2 %
60 and over	1	0.5%

* Del Koenig, Mobility factors of Northern Teachers, Saskatoon, 1972.

Native elementary schools

The native elementary school is one in which the majority of children are Indian, Eskimo, or Métis, children of the North's first people. In the Northwest Territories, in New Quebec, and in the northern part of Labrador, the majority of schools are in this category.

Of course, elementary schools are not the only schools in the Canadian North. There are also, as at Poste-de-la-Baleine (New Quebec), Frobisher Bay, Inuvik, Yellowknife and Fort Smith (NWT), as well as in Whitehorse (Yukon), vocational schools, trade schools, or secondary schools which give the equivalent of a Grade 12 diploma. These schools are attended by native students and their importance cannot be underestimated.

However, the Task Force members firmly believe that the elementary school in the North presents the most urgent and the most critical problem. It is at the elementary school level that the young native student is most affected without being able to resist; he is confronted with conflict situations every day, situations in which his traditions and values are discounted and those of other cultures imposed on him by the school. For a southern observer, secondary school training--during which most drop-outs occur--may appear more important; but the inadequacies and defects in elementary schooling are, for the students' development, the more harmful for being less obvious; the effects are felt only gradually and appear perhaps only at the secondary level, if they have not in fact appeared sooner.

Another reason the Task Force decided to concentrate on the training and placing of southern teachers in northern elementary schools is that the elementary level of schooling is the only one offered in every northern community.

Students who, in order to pursue secondary or trade school education, leave their community to live away from home in hostels lead a very different kind of life. Consequently the criteria for training and hiring teachers for secondary or occasional or trade schools can be different from those needed at the elementary school level, mainly because the former are located in bigger, more cosmopolitan centers whose atmosphere is much different from the small, isolated village.

The Canadian North

For the purpose of this report the Canadian North is:-

a. the Northwest Territories where education is the responsibility of the territorial government; the federal government, which keeps ownership of the land and resources,[1] supplies the territorial administration with funds needed for education.

b. territory known as New Quebec (land added to Quebec by the Boundary Extension Act of 1912); here the Quebec government owns land and resources,[2] and school administration for Eskimos is its jurisdiction[3] (however, Indian education comes under the federal government's jurisdiction)

c. the northern part of Labrador inhabited by Eskimos.

2. The general situation

The total number of southern teachers in northern elementary schools is around 350. For several years now the turnover of teaching personnel has been considerable, even though the situation has improved recently. Northern school administration is still higher by a minimum of some 100 new southern-trained teachers every year.

TABLE 3
RECRUITMENT OF NEW TEACHERS FOR THE NORTHERN ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS IN THE NORTHWEST TERRITORIES IN 1971-1972 and 1972-1973*

	Working	New teachers hired	New functions created	Net increase
1970	248			
1971	329	81	11	28% (70)
1972	430	101	22	25% (79)

* Survey of Education, Northwest Territories. Yellowknife: 1972.

1,2. This is the government's official position, but as far as the Task Force is concerned, there exist too the northern native peoples' claims that this territory is and has always been theirs by right of occupation from time immemorial.

3. In view of the Supreme Court judgment of 1939, the federal government has the authority in Eskimo affairs and could consquently assume jurisdiction through an act of parliament, but ever since the judgment has carefully avoided doing so. In view of this potential jurisdiction and other historical factors, the federal government still assumes responsibility for Eskimo education in New Quebec, where it maintains schools in each village, except Povungnituk and Inoucdjouac (Port Harrisson).

Koenig's sample, backed up by the Northwest Territories government figures[4] show that only 23% of elementary school teachers in the North stay there for more than three years. This fact is alarming from several points of view, especially considering that the southern teacher spends his first two years in the North coming to grips with his new environment and the new professional problems he faces. As it is, over 50% of elementary-level teachers leave when they just begin to be productive, and when a real integration with their northern native community becomes a possibility.

How to explain such a situation? Do southern teachers see their northern experience as only a two-year stint? Or once there, do they find the North too harsh an environment? Obviously the answers are not easy to come by. According to the teachers themselves (whether or not they worked in bigger or smaller, more or less isolated communities), their dissatisfaction with their jobs can be attributed in part to the following:5

- confronted with the northern reality, they do not see the connection between their particular context and the stated objectives of the school
- they feel frustration when they realize how little they are asked to participate in determining the school program and the curriculum
- they feel frustrated by the fact that the school system, which they represent, does not allow for local participation.

From these complaints, to concluding that their job is unsatisfactory or even without any real human or professional value, is but a small step.

The lack of satisfaction a teacher in the North experiences may be expressed in various ways; one of them is for him to leave after a relatively short stay in his job. To the question, "what are the principle reasons your teachers leave and return to the South?" northern schools administrators have answered as follows:-

4. Survey of Education, Northwest Territories.

5. J. Cram, "Perceived satisfactions of teachers in Arctic schools." Montreal: Arctic Institute of North America, 1972.

Alaska

a. desire to quit a primitive way of life
b. desire to teach in more important multicultural schools
c. desire to continue advanced studies.

New Quebec (provincial administation)

a. desire to continue advanced studies
b. difficulties foreseen for readaptation to the South after too long a sojurn in the North.

New Quebec (federal administration)

a. desire to live in a less isolated environment
b. desire to return to milder climates
c. desire to live closer to universities and libraries with a view to further up-grading
d. desire to offer better school and medical services to their children.

Greenland

a. desire to rejoin their relatives and friends in Denmark after a two- or three-year separation
b. desire to protect their children from any falling-behind in school achievements in comparison to their Danish companions.

Northwest Territories

"Many reasons are given by teachers who quit the North. There are as many as there are individuals. The married men with a family most often quit under family pressures. The bachelors, especially male ones, seem to quit in order to go back to studies, but in fact few of them do so. Single women ordinarily quit after one or two years: they have had their 'northern experience' and this suffices."

These explanations cannot but refer to something real and surely the northern school administations--already alerted to the problem of teacher's turnover--should intensify in the immediate future their attempts to ameliorate the situation.

It is interesting to note that the teachers' motivations to leave the North, as interpreted by the administrators, do not generally correspond except for one factor, the professional isolation that the teacher wants to overcome by being closer to higher education centers--to the principal causes of dissatisfaction outlined by the teachers themselves. It is not impossible that on his departure the teacher wants to give the administrators reasons easy to accept, keeping to themselves the most important ones; it is also possible that the administrators would not have fully perceived the value that a "northist" teacher attaches to his professional autonomy, to the possibility that he accomplish something significant in terms of non-bureaucratic transcultural education. We will return to this question later on for now let us say that one cannot avoid the fact that, in the minds of the administrators, the southern teachers hired by them to teach in the North still belong psychologically to the South even after a certain number of years in the North. However, many teachers interpret their situations differently.

The Task Force, for its part, closely examined the problem in general. It asked itself whether the business of teaching in the North was not considered by both the school administrations and the teachers themselves as a stepping stone in the teacher's career, rather than as a career in itself. The Task Force decided that northern teaching was regarded as only a stage.

This aspect of northern teaching is often pointed out by northern natives, when they are asked about Whites in the North. Very generally, for the northern natives the White men see the North as a colony whose resources, readily exploited by technologies developed outside the North, are to be used for the benefit of the great North American cities and their inhabitants. Seen from this perspective, the southern teachers are part and parcel of the money motivation[6]; they come North to make "a fast buck" in two, three, or even five years. And it must be admitted that statistics back up the northern natives' suspicions.

6. Forty-four percent of teachers admitted they came North for the money.

3. Teaching in the North: a career

It is understandable that the sociologists, anthropologists, and geologists who went North on specific jobs did not establish themselves there. But when it comes to teachers, their jobs are by their very nature not limited to a set and relatively short length of time. If northern education, because of the people to whom it is directed, has its own characteristics and needs, then the teacher's job there must be seen as a career and not as a short-term assignment.

In order to establish the principle of northern teaching as a career, the school authorities will have to develop inducements for teachers to stay in the North. First, the teachers will have to be convinced that there are advantages in a northern career. The Task Force attempted to discover what qualities and attitudes were considered most important in teachers according to the northern native people, both parents and children; they were interviewed in person or by questionnaire from November 1971 to March 1972. Of course the teachers' own opinions on the subject were also solicited.

[] Candidates should consider teaching in the North as a career, one that is a personal, permanent commitment with all that such a commitment implies. Task Force members are aware that such a concept may seem revolutionary and unrealistic because of the practical implications for the teacher and his family. (Further details of implementation of concept are discussed below, p. 137 ff. It is important, for now, to sort out the concept's main advantages, which the Task Force members have attempted to do, taking into consideration the peoples' expections and the observations made by the teachers themselves.)

Advantages of the career concept

a. The teacher who wishes to take on a teaching job in the North as a career should be strongly motivated from the start to learn the language and culture of his new milieu. Psychologically, a healthy, positive attitude in the face of his new and somewhat different situation (given the problem of learning a new language and culture, and freeing himself from his own inbred cultural habits) would be a great help.

[] But one must not deceive oneself: practically, the average Canadian knows almost nothing about the Indian and Eskimo identity or values, philosophy or history or way of life; what information he does have is not outstanding for its authenticity or objectivity. The potential northern teacher who is trained in the South takes with him, despite himself, a great burden of inadequate information which he should either get rid of or correct through personal observation, regular contact with the people, and dialogue with his students and their parents.

The fact that the teacher would in fact see his job in the North as a career without doubt would encourage him to listen to the people and become familiar with their needs and aspirations.

b. Once launched in his northern career, the teacher will be more aware of his usefulness and will be better able to define his role
[] in the overall structures of the school system. His intimate knowledge of the people and their projects, in which he will participate with them, will allow him doubtless to contribute significantly to adapting present school programs to the North or creating new ones.

It has often been said that realistic goals in northern education are hard to set, since they are generally determined by preconceptions that spring from the dominant society whose particular reality is far from that of the North. Determining objectives for northern education must be done slowly, otherwise the current arbitrary and artificial objectives will continue to dominate northern education despite all the reformers may think.

It must be added that a teacher who has worked successfully
[] in the North for several years would more easily obtain the encouragement of the authorities and the autonomy which teachers in the North now say they lack--certainly more easily than the newcomer or the temporary teacher who are often unable to imagine or explain how to implement projects of interest to their community.

Personal gratification is considered by teachers in the North to be closely allied to the degree of their active, meaningful participation in the school system and the decisions made affecting it, as well as to the degree of autonomy the teachers have within the system.

c. The local community in the North will gain from being able to count on "career" teachers who are aware of the northern realities and who have the peoples' support. Because of the present transient character of teaching in the North, Indian and Eskimo communities often find themselves with teachers who are strangers, and with whom they have not established close relations or confidence.

Since the school effectively is the teacher, each time the teacher changes, the character of the school changes. If "career" teachers were established in each community, the people would gain by it and also the community could then influence and have a certain control of the school (see 4, p.147 for an elaboration of the idea of community control).

d. The school system in the North evidently would profit greatly from career teachers. In addition to present financial and administrative difficulties which result from teacher turnover, the Task Force believes that there are very real advantages for the northern school system in the contributions that a core of career teachers could make to the system's evolution. Of course such an evolution must proceed by taking into consideration individual local differences; these differences will become more noticeable more quickly as the pace of northern development speeds up.

The North is already locked into change processes which will affect the northern people: soon the school system must be made responsive to the actual needs and ambitions of the people. The split which now exists between the present system and the northern reality will widen if the system cannot rely on experienced career teachers, ready and willing to face the changes coming to the North because they themselves are part of the change process.

There are some risks...

The Task Force is well aware that the ideal of career teachers will not be realized without difficulty. It is not uncommon in the Canadian North to find administrators and other civil servants anchored in their privileges as Whites, who have discovered the importance and prestige that come to them when they cultivate a certain distance between them and the people they administer.

Obviously too, career teachers in the North will be treated with indifference if not hostility by the local people if their life-styles follow discriminatory lines. It is the Task Force's opinion that career teachers really interested in their job and in the children entrusted to them will know that they have to counter the possible effects of their relatively privileged position by paying attention to the human beings that they were hired to help.

By the nature of their job, the teachers are likely to be more sensitive to the wishes of the people, and to the conditions that prevail in their new milieu, than any other "foreign" group. Those teachers who choose a career in the North, and who do so knowing what they will encouter there, are surely in a better position to successfully communicate with people from another culture. In the Task Force's sampling,[7] 76% of teachers in NWT and New Quebec said they had come North to learn about northern native culture, and 92% reported that among their strongest motivations for the move North was working **for** the community while improving their own cultural knowledge.

[] The Task Force feels it is crucial that the work of the teacher be evaluated on an on-going basis. This evaluation would assess both the professional work and the attitudes of the teacher, and would be done in collaboration with the community and the school authorities (see 4, p.147, for a suggested method of evaluation).

A last note on this concept of career teachers **for** the North: the members of the Task Force realize that not all "southern" teachers will in fact embrace a teaching career in the North; they do not think either, and for many reasons, that it would necessari-
[] ly be desirable. What is desirable is that an increasing proportion of the native northern elementary schools' teaching staffs be made up of career teachers.

It is among career teachers that the newly-hired teachers will find these specialized professionals, who are at present such a rare and sought-after commodity.

---

7. Del Koenig.

2. SELECTION OF TEACHERS

1. Procedures presently followed

The process for selecting teachers for northern teaching in Canada generally follows this pattern:-

a. a selection committee is set up, the composition of which does not obey any written rule, but which comprises three or four members appointed by the school administration

b. the committee scrutinizes the applications received, the academic and professional dossiers of each candidate, and rejects the candidates felt to be unsuitable

c. the committee invites the candidates whose names have been retained--ordinarily in the month of March and April--for interview. The main objective of the committee is then to ascertain the personality of the candidates, to try to determine their eventual behavior in a northern and transcultural milieu

d. the candidates whose names have been retained at the end are quickly notified of their engagement; they do not know however where exactly they will teach until the very last weeks preceeding their going north.

According to the administrators met, the interview is the most important step in the selection process. Of course the academic and professional dossier of each candidate is not without its importance, far from it, but it is not enough; and to hire teachers only on their academic and professional dossier could prove to be quite arbitrary; it cannot even, in most cases, give a good indication of a candidate's knowledge on the North and its cultural, social, and historical data. A dossier can, besides giving the marks and percentages obtained on exams, give some pertinent and enlightening data concerning the candidate's interest in culture, arts, and sports. For instance, from the candidate who has shown a great interest in the plastic arts could be expected that he will more easily initiate an active involvement on the part of his students; from the one who can perform on the flute or guitar could be expected that he will more readily contribute to the community activities where he will be posted; from the one who likes to play sports could be expected that it

will be relatively easy for him to participate in the organization of community recreation; and so forth. But even then, it is very often during an interview that the real meaning of these factors can be further investigated.

The selection process described takes much time and energy. For the Northwest Territories for example, the selection committee interviews candidates in half a dozen of the most important cities of southern Canada. The one responsible for the committee, and his assistant, are permanent members of the selection committee, but the superintendant of education for any of the other four educational districts of the Northwest Territories join them according to the place.

2. Selection criteria

a. Academic training. Those who are selected to teach in the North have good pedagogical training, not always a B.Ed.; training recognized by a teaching diploma valid in the southern part of Canada. Table 4 gives the figures for teachers in the Northwest Territories. It shows that more than 50% of the teachers presently in the employ of the Northwest Territories school administration do not possess any university degree; but they have completed 14 or 15 years of schooling and have received a diploma permitting them to teach.

TABLE 4
UNIVERSITY DIPLOMAS IN THE NORTHWEST TERRITORIES 1971-1972*

	Men	%	Women	%	Total	%
None	97	41	162	63	259	52
One	95	40	71	28	166	34
Two	33	14	20	8	53	11
Three	11	5	2	1	13	3

* Survey of Education, Northwest Territories.

The members of the Task Force feel that this situation does not contain anything alarming; whether or not a teacher has a B.Ed. is not that significant. What is significant are the skills that the teachers have acquired with a view to teaching in transcultural situations. These skills, while they can be acquired or enhanced by a given training, are as much or more the result of a living experience, of a personality characteristic. In real terms a true approach to transcultural education refers first and for the most par to interior and spontaneous attitudes characterizing the teacher or the future teacher, attitudes that can of course be cultivated and developed, but which cannot be created.

b. Teaching experience. Another criterion for hiring is teaching experience. In general terms the school administrator's preference is for a candidate who has taught for a certain period of time. This experience permits an assessment of his behavior as a teacher--though the milieu in which he has evolved could in this regard be quite different from the northern one--but at least from a pedagogical point of view one can refer to that experience to judge how the candidate interacts with children, whether he knows how to learn from them and how to teach them.

It is probably first and foremost for the candidate himself that this teaching experience can be particularly useful; once in the North, he will have to confront so many unforeseen circumstances that certain previously acquired control of teaching skills cannot but psychologically help him to attack new tasks. But according to the members of the Task Force, this previous teaching experience should be limited in time. Teachers who have performed in a society where the standards, the cultural values, and the ethical values are sometimes completely opposed, might have established themselves in a philosophy of education and even in some teaching habits which might render their professional work cut-and-dried and artificial.

[] In view of these considerations the members of the Task Force believe that no southern teacher should be hired for the North unless he has a teaching experience of at least one year, preferably two; the time should not generally exceed two or three years. One important exception could be the case of a teacher who has taught for quite a few years in a transcultural milieu or in marginal areas (for instance in less favored areas).

c. Personality. When the native people spoke at the Inuvik Conference about patience, comprehension of children, availability of a teacher to the local community, they were referring to teacher's attitudes, and behavior was only a concrete manifestation of them. When the native students at the secondary level gave the opinion, during a discussion meeting with their supervisor at Grollier Hall, Inuvik, that among the most important characteristics desirable in a teacher were authentic devotion and involvement, it was to attitudes that they were referring.

Northern administrators realize the truth of such statements, particularly school administrators who, in difficult situations, often feel obliged to weigh their decisions and their impact as a function not only of the best objective decision but also perhaps more as a function of the reactions that their personnel's spontaneous attitudes permit them to foresee.

What are these fundamental attitudes? Groups of northern autochthonous parents have answered, the teacher of our children should be somebody who:-

- knows how to explain what he expects from them
- cares for each one's security
- is interested in every pupil and manifests his satisfaction in their success
- teaches from what the children already know
- is patient with the slower ones
- is warm and always in good humor
- is always ready to help the children during and after school time.

They have also spoken about the social role that they would wish the teacher to play in the community; the teacher should:-

- try first to understand their way of living
- show he is satisfied to live in the community without always refering to another milieu
- help people to express their ideas
- give help, when requested, without a desire to change already existing ways of doing things
- show himself as he is, without trying to play a role.

A group of students in Inuvik (Eskimo and Indian students of Grades 11 and 12) have suggested that the teacher should:-

- be devoted
- be capable of adapting to northern life
- be very patient with the young students
- be able to permit the students to experiment with successes and failures
- accept learning from the students without indulging their mistakes because they are "just" natives.

The administrators of the Alaska Rural Teaching Training Corps Program (Alaska) would like their teachers to be equipped to:-

- demonstrate their comprehension of their own culture through their ability to discuss it rationally with people of other cultures
- demonstrate their comprehension of the school as an institution that does affect the students and the community
- be able to find and experiment with solutions that minimize the institutional impact of the school on the client and the community in transcultural situations
- reject those practices that can be identified as alienating or harming the native child's apprenticeship
- forget the institutional image of the teacher enough to be able to communicate with the community in terms felt to be human
- give up the specialized educational vocabulary to profit from a language accessible to the non-initiated
- listen to and understand the natives, and transfer their desires to educational terms, especially in the curriculum
- give priority to the needs of the community over the traditional needs of the school
- involve themselves in the community upon request
- when invited to participate in community affairs consider the people of the community as equals.

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8. From proposal for 7th Cycle Teacher Corps/C.O.P. Project, 1972-74, November 1971. State Operated Schools, Anchorage, Alaska.

The school administrators of the Northwest Territories and New Quebec have also answered the questionnaires on the qualities and attitudes desirable in northern teachers; what they said is covered by the above listing.

3. Major gaps in the actual process

The selection process is considered most important by the authorities, and rightly so. The members of the Task Force agree; in analyzing this process, their attention has been drawn to two major points:-

[] a. The process does not permit systematic most accurate defining of a candidate's fundamental attitudes to teaching. Of course the members of a selection committee count on their experience of the North and their knowledge about the behavior of individuals who are already at work in the North, as well as on their awareness of the general situation in the North and of the specific situations that prevail there, in order to fruitfully converse with the candidates and bring them, through their reactions, questions, and answers, to reveal themselves as they are. But one cannot in a one-hour dialogue with a candidate who faces two or three northern specialists really hope to create an atmosphere for spontaneity and authenticity. It follows that, even if the interviews are an essential step in the selection process, the members of the Task Force do not believe that they constitute the final point in the selection of teachers for the North.

[] b. The process is lamentably lacking in representativeness. The teachers chosen will become, during one year or more, the substitute for the parents with their children for a good part of the day every day. Also, the parents of the Eskimo, Indian, and Métis children who will attend native schools in the North are not present during these interviews. The native parents have expressed complaints about their lack of representation, and the autochthonous members of the Task Force have not missed any occasion to underline it. In a period when all through southern Canada the process of civilization and democracy call for real participation of the people in decision making, the non-participation of parents in the selection of the teachers who will teach their children is especially eloquent.

4. Suggested remedies

To sum up, the members of the Task Force believe that the procedures presently followed for the selection of northern teachers must be retained but that major modifications should be made.

a. Evaluating the attitudes. There exist some studies which attempt to identify systematically (mainly by questionnaire) the reaction and psychological tendencies of subjects in well-defined situations.[9] The methods used in these studies, with appropriate modification could be profitably applied to selecting teachers for the North.

On the other hand, everybody knows that the questionnaire technique and even the interview technique, as well prepared as they can be, do not exclude the possibility of gross mistakes. More and more students and professionals have familiarized themselves with these kinds of testing; in other words it is always possible to find a way to cheat when one is accustomed to detection procedures, particularly those based on written performance. At any rate not only bad faith or similar motivations can appreciably bias the results of questionnaires and interviews; there is not only the candidate's astuteness working to make his application most likely to be accepted; there is also the very important fact that it is quite difficult to determine, on the occasion of a single questionnaire and a limited interview, fundamental attitudes, because the interviewee is not then in a position to spontaneously reveal by his behavior his fundamental attitudes.

To determine a future northern teacher's attitudes might mean involving him in a situation analogous or similar to those that he will find himself in once in the North, to have him play the game with other individuals for a certain period. To sum up, it means submitting him to group dynamic exercises, as CIDA does for instance for the hiring of teachers for developing countries.

This exercise, in addition to being the last step of the selection process, would present the candidates with an excellent occasion to judge themselves and their behavior in situations

9. See M.E. Shaw and J.M. Wright, Scales for Measurement Attitudes. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1967.

unforeseen by them but very real and regular for those who work in a northern transcultural milieu. No doubt, during or at the end of such sessions, certain candidates would exclude themselves. Anyhow, once there they would reveal attitudes perhaps irreconcilable with behavior that their teaching tasks in the North will require from them, and the selection committee would consequently be better equipped to judge their candidacy.

b. Participation of the autochthons in teacher selection. Autochthonous parents are not officially represented on teacher selection committees. The members of the Task Force believe it imperative that the situation be corrected and that some adequate mechanisms be found in order to assure parents' representation not only on the committee but in the whole selection process. For example, they should participate in the group session referred to above. This is a simple question of good sense and of healthy democracy. The first way to achieve this objective is to ask to the school committees in each region (Fort Smith, MacKenzie, Keewatin, Baffin, Arctic Quebec, New Quebec) to agree between themselves to select a certain number of candidates that they would feel are capable of representing the parents. The authorities would then be required to select from this list two representatives for each region and appoint them to the selection committee.

The members of the Task Force very well know that parents' school committees do not exist in every northern community. They also know that it is the intention of the education authorites in the Northwest Territories and in New Quebec to set up such parents' committees in each and every community of the North. The fact that they do not exist yet in certain places should not prevent native parents from choosing their representatives for the selection committee. The responsibility for designating the representatives, in the absence of school committees, might be an excellent way to prepare the eventual setting-up of school committees where they do not yet exist.

3. PREPARATION OF TEACHERS

A. The problem

The reader will remember that at the Inuvik Conference the inadequacy of preparation of southern teachers was criticized. This complaint is not surprising, and it reveals the clear thinking of the clients of northern education. Those who might be surprised by such comments are those who do not consider important that the child's learning of the unknown be based on the known.

The teachers trained in southern Canada know very little about the northern reality present or past, and consequently are badly equipped to help Eskimo or Indian children of the North continue their learning process on the basis of their natural curiosity, the preoccupations of their milieu, and the environment they have seen around them since they were born.

The school administrations, particularly that of the Northwest Territories at Yellowknife, have recently adopted an approach systematically designed to partly fill the southern teachers, information needs. A new curriculum is being developed and already more than thirty text books, based on the cultural environment of the native child, have become an official part of school material. Not all the members of the Task Force have been able to examine these text books but the initiative itself is a promising one.

However, such efforts would meet with better chances of success if southern teachers would come North with an acquired knowledge about the geography, the human context, the history, and the general economy of the Canadian North, and even of the circumpolar world, since for example the presence of Eskimos in the USSR, Alaska, Canada, and Greenland is part of historical migrations that cannot but interest northerners and, by the same token, introduce them to the outside world starting from their own history. The same could be said for education concerning the northern Indians of North America.

Generally speaking, the southern teacher has no initiation into the northern context when he comes to teach in the North. He knows nearly nothing about the human, economic, and historical reality of the North, for the simple reason that these notions are not generally part of teacher training program

that he has followed to obtain his teacher's certificate. One could speculate that, like many other institutions, the teacher training school of southern Canada takes for granted that the Canadian North is a kind of an appendage, an outgrowth or colony, of the dominant society: a colony that has value only when resources are developed there for the benefit of the South's metabolism.

No less evident and dramatic is the state of ignorance of the teachers trained in the South concerning the cultural and human dimension of the Canadian North and its inhabitants. If they know anything on the subject, it would not be because they would have learned it in regular courses but rather because of a personal effort, since the scarcity of reference documentation and its inaccessibility makes learning often difficult and complex.

[] Some university professors involved in teacher training say their courses--some of them at least--do prepare future teachers to work in a transcultural milieu. The teachers who go North have only to adapt their approach to the social and cultural situation prevailing there. There is surely validity in this approach, but such courses and lessons are not accessible in many places of Canada before the level of baccalaureate or postgraduate studies. Nor do such courses explicitly envisage the particular situation in the North, and so cannot really culturally and socially prepare the teacher to teach in the North.

In résumé, the members of the Task Force observe that the teaching training schools of the South do not give to their students a northern preparation that would permit them to teach adequately; if they want to equip themselves appropriately, they must either do it through a personal development or rely on special orientation sessions organized by the northern school administrations.

B. Special orientation sessions

These sessions are considered by their sponsors as last-minute measures permitting compensation, to a certain extent, for the gaps in preparation teachers have received in the South. What are they and what is their worth?

The present sessions

In general these sessions are held in the summer preceeding the northern posting of the teachers. They last from one to three weeks and, according to their duration, their objectives are different.

The objective that seems to be in fact the most important, even if officially it does not have priority, is to administratively initiate the new teacher. He is made aware of procedures he will have to follow in his relations with the administration, the principal of the school, and the other teachers; he is told what he is and is not permitted to do, in professional terms, in view of the particular situation of the North; he is made aware of his working conditions; and so on.

Another objective, the one recognized by all administrators as being the most important, is to give to the teacher a cultural preparation. He is introduced to the special problem of child learning in the Indian and Eskimo environment; there are some discussions about the traditional value system that the teacher will find, about the best-adapted pedagogical approaches, especially concerning the teaching skills in the areas of the foreign language and social sciences. Generally, the sessions are about the pedagogical principles that apply in a transcultural education milieu. Finally more and more the administrators consider that during these sessions the northern peoples' culture and history should be introduced. This includes a certain exposure to the vernacular language used where the teacher will be posted.

All these subjects can be dealt with only more or less superficially, given the time-span and nature of the sessions. Indeed in a three-week session only the surface of all the subjects considered can be examined; if the session lasts only one week, there is not much time to do anything else but to discuss administration and to touch upon a few other subjects.

C. Task Force suggestions

From A. and B. above it can be concluded that the teachers trained in the South

. cannot rely on their regular courses to prepare adequately for the North

- cannot rely on the present sessions of orientation to fill their main needs, and consequently
- are to a good extent left to themselves to develop a more adequate preparation.

Before attempting their own suggestions, the Task Force members considered the views expressed by the teachers themselves. In their answers to the questionnaire (see above, p. 113), they identified what they considered to be the most important gaps and have made suggestions which would, if implemented, answer not only to their own needs but also to many expectations expressed by the people of the North.

In summary, the main points underlined by the teachers as most important and presently needed for the preparation of southern teachers for the North are:-

- knowledge of the local culture
- training for cross-cultural education
- training for special teaching areas (for example kindergarten)
- in-service training
- studies in the social sciences
- teaching a second language
- cultural studies
- understanding and speaking a native language.

On the other hand, the northern school administrators pointed to some gaps that most of the teachers had not identified or perhaps were reluctant to see:-

- lack of understanding of the child in the context of his home and community
- inability to identify learner needs, learner difficulties, obstacles to learning, things that motivate the child
- unwillingness or inability to involve children and parents in the planning, modification, or adaptation of the curriculum to better fit learner needs and learner motivation.

Given these identified needs, Task Force members speculated whether it was at all possible for a teacher to be prepared in the South for a northern teaching career. In other words, it is perhaps not realistic to believe that an individual influenced by the standards, the norms, the orientation, and the reference criteria of his own society could initiate himself, in his own society, to northern values which are very often in opposition to the dominant society's values.

Three main ideas have come out from the Task Force's discussions of the problem:-

1. The teachers should and could receive in the South a better preparation than they do at present time; this new preparation would require efforts on the part of teacher training schools, universities, northern school administration, and the candidate himself.

2. The preparation of new teachers for the North, as efficient as it might be in the South, cannot be sufficient and must be complemented during the first five months of their engagement by a series of measures involving the northern school administrations, the new teachers, and the residents of the North.

3. Once having completed the first initiation stage, the teacher must have the means to upgrade himself, to prepare himself for the best execution of his tasks; the main components the upgrading might be, concurrent with the northern reality, profoundly modified over a short period of time. This implies a special effort on the part of the northern school administrations, of a few universities, and of course of the teachers themselves.

Preparation in the South

1. Introductory course in the North

The northern teaching candidate who will be hired for the North should have taught elsewhere for about two years (see above, p. 128). During this period, he should have had exposure to northern facts of life: physical and human geography, economy, history, cultures, and languages. He should have done appropriate reading and research, but also have taken the appropriate university courses. These introductory courses do not presently exist in Canadian universities. Some courses on the North are given in pedagogy, anthropology, geography, or engineering referring to the North, but there exist almost no introductory courses to the North, at the B.A. level, which are academic options credited and open to any discipline particularly interested in the total reality of the North. It would seem that a course of about 60 hours over one semester and permitting the candidates to complement their own ideas by readings and even by papers would be adequate for the purposes of northern teacher training, in that it would permit a beginning in human and

physical geography of the North (10 hours), in northern cultural economic and political history (20 hours), in the social and economic perspectives of the North (20 hours), and in the problems that confront the development of the North regarding human and biophysical environment (10 hours). Such generalized courses are tending to disappear in Canadian universities, supplanted by specialized courses; Task Force members are aware of the special character of such a suggestion. However, the Task Force considers that such a course would be invaluable, and that universities should seriously consider the possibility--also, the teachers who intend to go North would not be the only ones to profit by such a course.

In fact, only a few universities would need to put such courses on their program (one for the Atlantic provinces, two for Quebec, two for Ontario, and three or four in the West) for most of the interested teachers to profit by it. However, there would still be some interested people who could not attend such courses, and Task Force members believe that a correspondence course should be set up by one institution. Task Force members are of the opinion that it would be up to the federal government, given that its Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development has a good and well-supporting equipped research unit and library capable of such an initiative.

[] 2. Introduction to the language

The course proposed above does not include languages, which nontheless remain of high importance in the case of the preparation of the tacher for the North. First, the teacher would be able to communicate with the population and the students in their own language. What can be more frustrating for a teacher trained in the South, academicaly and psychologically well equipped, to suddenly realize the impossibility of communicating with the children for whom he is responsible. This is very often enough to disperse the most noble intentions. In the majority of northern communities predominently native, the child who comes into Grade 1 will automatically find himself cut from the teacher if this teacher cannot speak his language, and vice versa. The further a child advances in school the less this phenomenon seems important since the child receives from the beginning a systematic introduction to the English language (or French in the case of New Quebec provincial schools). In any case, the teacher must communicate

not only with the students, he must also communicate with the community; and even where prolongued exposure to school has initiated the students to the foreigh language, such exposure renders him unable to satisfactorily express himself outside his own vernacular language. Moreover, there is no question that the teacher must plan not only what is strictly necessary for himself in the field of human communication. His availability, his openess to the milieu and to the humans who constitute the milieu, requires that he be in a position to respect the people and their way of expressing themselves. It is a great advantage for a teacher to possess a certain practical knowledge of the vernacular language.

The question of apprenticeship in a vernacular language is not a clear-cut one. Months, and even years, could be spent in familiarizing oneself with Indian or Eskimo languages used in the Canadian North. Except for a few individuals particularly motivated, only a small number of White people have so far succeeded in becoming fluent in one or another of the vernacular languages of the North, and those who have succeeded have devoted to this a considerable amount of time.

While believing that as many northern teachers as possible should become bilingual, Task Force members think that this question must be approached both from a practical and a realistic point of view, in consideration of the immediate needs of the future teachers. Their minimal needs as soon as they arrive in the North could be defined as follows:-

- a good knowledge of the structure of the vernacular language and its fundamental rules, by comparison with the European languages
- ability to communicate with children and their parents, in their language, concerning the basic information to be supplied to them in the school, the class, the importance of certain school program activities, as well as outside world events which could be particularly significant for them
- conversing with them to a certain degree, that is, to have developed an ability to understand the sounds and phrases of the vernacular language enough to understand the sense of usual conversations between native people concerning their traditional activities, the environment, economic resources, and their local history.

How much time is required for such a beginning is difficult to say. All depends of course on the level one wants to reach and on the efforts made. In Denmark, the Greenland education specialists feel that an intensive three-month period would probably suffice to offer to Danish teachers the minimal introduction required for them to teach in the Greenland schools. Before the northern school administrations of Canada decide that such an intensive session can be set up annually or biannually--which would seem highly desirable--the members of the Task Force believe that the candidate for northern teaching should profit by his waiting period to make a real effort regarding the acquisition of a certain fluency in the vernacular language. But at the same time, they are forced to observe that he will find himself relatively unable to do so. Indeed the dominant society has often exagerated the diversity of languages and dialects of the North to justify itself for doing nothing to answer the needs. A few agencies, some zealous missionaries, and civil servants have been left alone in their efforts or barely helped to publish dictionaries, grammars, or tapes for helping those interested in teaching themselves the languages and the dialects of the North.

Now that the northern school authorities all across Canada find it desirable that their employees in the North, and first and foremost their teachers, be initiated to the vernacular languages so that their communications with the people and their pedagogical approach can be as fruitful as possible, the members of the Task Force believe that it is urgent that a northern language research center be financed and permanently located in the North, in one or many universities, or in an institute like the Arctic Institute of North America which would permit a crystallization of the efforts already undertaken and the preparation of basic material utilizing audio-visual techniques; the result of these efforts would be put at the disposal of those who are interested in using them. Quite a number of valuable efforts are presently underway, for instance at Rankin Inlet, at Quebec City, in some universities, and so on. The time seems to have come at last to pool all these efforts, without any of the involved institutions abandoning its own projects if it desires to continue them, but with the purpose of publishing some material that could be really practical and useful to those who want to go North and want to begin learning the languages which are spoken in native communities there.

[] 3. Orientation sessions

Members of the Task Force believe that a newly hired teacher, even if he has taken during his two-year "waiting period" an introductory course to the North, would greatly profit from participating in a special orientation session just before his departure for the North. The orientation sessions should last four weeks and implement two main objectives:-

- familiarizing the teacher with political, social, cultural, and physical data about the area and the place where he will be posted
- generally introduce the teacher to the educational situation in the northern environment, discuss the psychology of native children in regard to the pedagogical methods and the fundamental attitudes that a teacher must display in the North if he wants his work to be really fruitful.

If the authorities should decide to set up these sessions outside the North, they should carefully observe two main conditions:-

- that northern native resource persons, representing their milieu and well aware of their society, participate in sufficient number and be assigned, after consultation, a significant role in all the activities and courses during the session
- that part of the session, for example the last week, be held in one or more villages of the Canadian North.

This four-week session should be organized in the North, if the necessary equipment and facilities, and resource persons who should take part in these sessions are available.

The Task Force members consider that the native people would be the most important resource persons for these sessions. [] In addition to providing new teachers with first real contact with the native people of the North, the occasion would be a good one for the teachers to verify certain notions acquired perhaps before going North, as well as for discussion with native resource persons about the session courses and getting from them some first-hand information concerning the social and cultural situation of the North as well as some lessons on the vernacular languages.

This four-week session would not be set up as a classroom, but rather would consist of a series of discussion-type meetings, conversations, and discussion in small groups in order that each teacher could profitably study what he is interested in.

In addition to other arguments in favor of a northern location for the orientation session, there is the no less important one of the kind of immersion in the North the occasion would offer the new teachers. In other contexts it would be so easy for their interest to be captured by things that have nothing to do with the objectives of the session; a northern location would make the distractions themselves profitable. In that respect it would be preferable to hold the session in a small native village of the North as opposed to a town-like setting where the atmosphere and the people are in many respects no more representative of the average northern native community than are many cities in the South.

Preparation in the North

1. The five first months

The members of the Task Force have agreed, with all people consulted, teachers or former teachers, administrators, parents, and Eskimo and Indian leaders of the North, that the preparation of the new teachers should be systematically continued during the first five months of their posting. Some members have even said that during the five months the new teacher should not function as a full teacher but should rather improve his command of the language, initiate himself to the habits of the people, their philosophy and values, and assume only auxiliary teaching tasks.

After many discussions, it was decided that such a recommendation could be really difficult to implement because of physical and financial difficulties and also because of possible loss of time for the teacher who has nothing precise to do and has no definite status in the eyes of the population. But the idea of preparation continuing during the five first months remains, in the opinion of the Task Force, a most important thing. Two ways of fostering it are:-

a. As soon as possible after he has completed two months of northern teaching, the new teacher should take part in a regional seminar to be organized for all the newly-hired teachers. They would be joined by resource people, native and non-native. Of course, this seminar could provide the occasion for teaching specialists to demonstrate certain successful teaching methods. But essentially the seminar would provide the new teachers with the occasion of discussing their difficulties and problems met, be it in the teaching field or in the field of broader human relations.

For the Task Force, it is of first importance that the new teacher be liberated from his day-to-day concerns in order to analyse his successes and difficulties together with his colleagues and with the contribution and help of the resources persons. It happens too often that a new teacher, in the absence of such an exercise, gives up and becomes discouraged; a session like the one suggested could permit him to restore his motivations relatively easily and quickly. Even with the maximum of good will and good preparation, he faces, in his first months, unforeseen situations and he feels new needs which he wants to discuss with others.

b. During the first five months, every new teacher should also continue and intensify his systematic apprenticeship in the vernacular language. The emphasis here is on systematization. It is all too easy for a new teacher to drop apprenticeship in the language once he is teaching, on the pretext that his task takes most of his energies and does not leave him any leisure time. If he could commit himself to a daily exercise in the language, even if this lasts only thirty or forty-five minutes every time, he would greatly benefit. To make this possible, the members of the Task Force suggest that the school authorities in each locality pay the necessary fees for an autochthonous person to be at the disposal of the teachers who want to improve their command of the vernacular language.

c. This period is a crucial one not only for the teacher himself, in many respects, but for his relations with the people. It is during these first months that the teacher will signify, by his attitude and his behaviour, whether he accepts the North in its total reality or not. This acceptance cannot be just a romantic one, it must be based on a sincere adhesion to the cultural, human, political and even climatic reality, for what it is and without continuous reference to one's original location.

2. Immersion in the North

Many members of the Task Force have mentioned that it would be highly desirable for the northern teacher candidate to first sojourn in the North for approximately six weeks before applying for a job there. This could be done through a summer job in the North, for example. The future teacher candidate, hoping to make a career of northern teaching, could go on-site to see for himself what the conditions would be. Members of the Task Force agreed that, if the teaching candidate has not already done so, he should profit by his "waiting period" to go to the North for such a sojourn and that such an initiative be favored by the school and other authorities involved in northern administration.

Recycling of teachers

The members of the Task Force have given considerable thought to the difficulties a northern teacher has to face because of his isolation from the mainstream of life, not only in terms of social life and educational opportunities for himself and his family but also in terms of his profession and self-realization. No thorough investigation has been made into the real relative impacts of isolation and other factors on the teacher's satisfaction in the North. As said earlier, the motivations of those who leave the North apparently are not always the ones that are officially reported and the professional lacks of the northern teachers are not identified in the same way by the administrators and the teachers.

It is felt that the system should operate as if the teachers would not consider quitting the North, provided they could receive an incentive that would help them both to recycle in professional and social terms, as well as keeping their families in touch with what is going on outside the North. Such an incentive should be more than mere television or other communications means.

[] The members of the Task Force believe that every northern teacher should be granted a one-year leave of absence after completion of each four-year period of teaching. He would use this "sabbatical" year to do what he feels like doing; studying, travelling, working in another area. The use of his time would be his choice. But he would have to take that year off and should not be permitted to by-pass it.

To make this possible, the teacher would be credited every year with a bonus amounting to 15% of the salary earned in that year, a bonus that he would get only when and if he has completed [] the four-year period of teaching. This procedure could replace any other existing or planned money incentives to keep teachers at work in the North--except the regular in-and-out northern travelling expenses already provided for--because it is felt it would be the best way to permit the teaching personnel to recycle themselves in every sense of the word, to the best advantage of the northern education system.

4. Posting, transfer, and dismissal

Posting

The members of the Task Force realize that many factors, some of which are not easily predictable, must be taken into account in posting northern teachers. The availability of locales, sudden vacancies, creation of new functions within the school are factors the school administrators consider before posting their newly-hired personnel. However, as has already been mentioned above, Task Force members believe that the newly-hired teachers should know [] sooner than is now the case to what village or establishment they will be posted; in fact they should know it many weeks before the orientation session and unless absolutely impossible, this should be the rule. The community would benefit from knowing in advance the name and previous accomplishments of their future teacher, and he himself could obtain precise information on the location he is going to. Information on the Canadian North is not always easily available but many northern posts have been described in monographs in recent years; some of these monographs are particularly rich in information of all kinds.

Transfer

The procedure presently used to transfer teachers from one place to another has been the subject of many discussions within the Task Force. While in the case of the first posting the circumstances as well as the judgment of the school administrators are about the only determining elements, the transfer of teachers should not be [] made without ensuring that the community where the teacher has worked for a certain period of time could express its feeling on the desirability of such a transfer. It is not uncommon in the North that a teacher whose teaching and contribution to the community have been particularly appreciated by the population is invited by the school authorities to transfer from this place to another, because such a change is considered a promotion or for reasons that are more questionable. Thus certain members of the Task Force have witnessed in recent years transfers of teachers which did not seem to be related at all to the general opinion of the community. Transfer of these teachers seemed rather dictated by an obsession for order as understood by a few families of White people or a capricious administrator.

The members of the Task Force understand that it is not always easy for school administrators to make a decision in such circumstances. They must, in the absence of alternate structures, rely on the good judgment of the school principal or the regional superintendent. On the other hand the judgment of the principal or the regional superintendent does not automatically coincide with the feeling of the native people themselves concerning the benefits that their children can get from a teacher. It is obvious that the school administrations, officially, want the natives to have their say or at least that their needs be considered first when important decisions are taken. But again there does not now exist any structure permitting, even obliging, the school administration to refer to the natives' need and evaluations when they must make a decision concerning the possibility of a transfer.

Dismissal

There exists a certain similarity between transfer procedures and dismissal procedures. Here again the opinion of the teacher's disciplinary superiors is the final word. The communities themselves are never asked to give their advice and, even if some attemp are made to consult a few members of these communities, such consultation is not really meaningful.

Suggestions of the Task Force

[] For consultation with the communities to be really valid in the eyes of the authorities, it is necessary to establish a structure and a mechanism obliging the communities to express their opinions and to take part in the solution of problems. The members of the Task Force also think, and this is probably provided for in contracts between teachers and employers, that the unions have their say concerning transfers and dismissals. If the unions are not involved in this type of decision there is the danger that they exist only to negotiate salaries and work conditions, while their objectives are considerably broader than that.

[] The members of the Task Force suggest that the following mechanism be established in order to make decisions concerning transfer or dismissal of teachers:-

1. that an ad hoc committee be set up in each native community comprising three or five members selected by the parents within the community and with proper consideration of the ethnic components of this community; the committee would be essentially a committee to evaluate the teachers' work

2. that the principal of the school be required to supply every committee member with his own evaluation of the efficiency of each teacher

3. that the teachers see the evaluations of their work, as made by the principal, at the same time as he sends it to the evaluation committee and to the school authority

4. that the evaluating committee present a report to each teacher concerning the evaluation made and send also a copy to his professional organization if the teacher wishes.

Evaluation mechanism

In order to perform its evaluating work, the committee should meet at regular intervals and proceed in the presence of all its members to the compilation of the various components of the evaluation. Members of the Task Force suggest that this evaluation be made on a continuing basis and comprise the following elements:-

1. evaluation of the community as a whole for the work of the teacher

2. evaluation of the parents and of the children

3. evaluation of the school staff and the principal.

To perform this duty, the ad hoc evaluation committee could use a procedure judged suitable in advance by the authorities, the unions, and the organizations representing the native people for the whole of the northern territory concerned.

This ad hoc evaluation committee could be an elected committee or an appointed committee, depending on what the people prefer. Circumstances are not the same in all places of the North; for example there exist in certain communities school

committees which could assign members to an ad hoç evaluation committee. In places where a school committee does not exist yet, it would seem appropriate to ask to the people to choose one by way of consensus or election, according to the desire expressed by the community. In such places it would of course be only natural to consult, for the formation of the evaluating committee, the Band council or the Eskimo council where they exist as well as the advisory committee of the establishment or the hamlet council.

EPILOGUE

EPILOGUE

In the course of their one year's work, the members of the Task Forces together have contributed many ideas regarding school education in the North which are not necessarily included in one or the other of the three reports. This short epilogue does not intend to repeat all or most of them, but rather pin-point just three main considerations that appear most significant for the present stage of northern education.

1. In general, initiatives taken in northern education do not seem always to correspond to the deepest convictions of those who must concretely implement them, particularly concerning the involvement of the people. While official directives concerning northern education seem to be promising ones and sometimes most commendable, very often they do not get by the stage of official lip service because of lack of comprehension from the administrators, the teaching staffs, and the concerned populations.

It would be too easy to suggest no action be taken without prior full and meaningful consultation between all the interested parties; such a procedure could become a very comfortable way of postponing things. It is more important to suggest, without neglecting the essential aspect of consultations, that new initiatives be subject to on-going evaluations with full participation of all those who take part in the initiatives or are affected by them.

Such evaluations have become the real challenge of the second phase in the northern education revolution, a phase that consists in bringing the school to the people instead of considering it as a laboratory for the elite. The first phase of the revolution, which is underway in the Canadian North, has been characterized by an effort to substitute a learning process based on the northern environment for the stereotyped curriculum based only on southern philosophies and reality.

2. Local school committees are a top priority in the opinion of the Task Force members. No other structure at present could better ensure the peoples' participation in northern school education. No more is it possible or acceptable to continue asking native people to subscribe to an educational policy or

adhere to its objectives and validity without their significant involvement and understanding. Blind faith is no longer possible in the northern situation, nor is it acceptable from a democratic point of view.

[] The local committee must have well-defined responsibilities in the selection, hiring, transfer and dismissal of teachers; it must control the spending of its budget without dilatory and cumbersome procedures. With the degree of independence that goes with significant responsibilities, it must have its say in the setting-up, modification, or abandonment of curriculum programs. Local committees must be established in each northern community, no matter what its size, according to a schedule to be adhered to by all concerned.

Most important of all, its status should permit the reversal of some aspects of the northern school administration for the benefit of democracy and civilization. Indeed the supreme power that is in fact vested in non elected local and regional white administrators very often leads them to arbitrarily stop, modify or delay any initiatives, even if endorsedby the people concerned. With the introduction of real School Committees, their administrati behavior would cease to depend solely upon their own unquestioned and often highly subjective motivations, and instead be in the control of elected representatives of the people.

3. The urgency of posting native teachers to the elementary grades cannot be underestimated. Efforts to implement such a policy should not exclude new and imaginative formulas that depart from the sempiternal tendency to accommodate northern elementary
[] teacher training to the already existing standards and procedures of the South. Task Force members are convinced that no kindergarte or pre-school class should be opened to native children unless a native teacher is in charge of it.